National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 6. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1,150.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

CONFISCATION AND LIBERATION.

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN,

Of Indiana, in the House of Representatives, Friday, May 23, 1862.

THE House having under consideration the bill to confiscate the property and free from servitude the slaves of rebels—

Mr. JULIAN said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Before closing the debate on the measures of confiscation and liberation now before us, I desire to submit some general observations which I hope may not be regarded as irrelevant to these topics, or wholly unworthy of consideration. I do not propose to discuss these particular measures. I deem it wholly unnecessary. I believe everything has been said, on the one side and on the other, which can be said, and far more than was demanded by an honest search after the truth. Certainly, I shall not argue, at any length, the power of Congress to confiscate the property of rebels. I take it for granted. I have not allowed myself, for a single moment, to regard the question as open to debate, nor do I believe it would ever have been seriously controverted, had it not been for the infectious influence of slavery in giving us false views of the Constitution of the United States. It was ordained "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." I take it for granted that our fathers meant to confer, and did confer upon us, by the terms of the Constitution, the power to execute these grand purposes, and made adequate provision for the exercise of that power. I feel entirely safe in indulging this reasonable intendment in their favor; and I hand over to other gentlemen on this floor, and in the other end of the Capitol, the ungracious task of dealing with the Constitution as a cunningly devised scheme for permitting insurrections, conniving at civil war, and rendering treason to the government safer than loyalty.

Sir, I have little sympathy for any such friends of the Union, and I honor the Constitution too much, and regard the memory of its founders too sacredly, to permit myself thus to trifle with the work of their hands. The Constitution is not a shield for the protection of rebels against the government, but a sword for smiting them to the earth, and preserving the nation's life. Every man who has been blessed with a moderate share of common sense, and who really loves his country, will accept this as an obvious truth. Congress has power—

> "To declare war; to grant letters of marque and reprisal; to make rules concerning captures on land and water; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces; to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; *and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into effect the foregoing powers.*"

Here we find ample and express authority for any and every measure which Congress may see fit to employ, consistently with the law of nations and the usages of war, which fully recognize the power of confiscation. And yet for long, weary months we have been arguing, doubting, hesitating, deprecating.

As to what is called slave property, we have been most fastidiously careful not to harm it. We have seen a lion in our path at every step. We have seemed to play the part of graceless stipendiaries of slaveholding rebels, seeking, by technical subterfuges and the ingenious arts of pensioned attorneys in desperate cases, to shield their precious interests from all possible mischief. So long have we been tugging in the harness of our Southern taskmasters, that even this horrid conspiracy of rebel slave-masters cannot wholly divorce us from the idea that slavery and the Constitution are one and inseparable. Sir, while I honor the present Congress for its great labors and the many good deeds it has performed, I must yet count it a shame and a reproach that we did not promptly enact an efficient confiscation bill in December last, which would have gone hand in hand with our conquering legions in the work of trampling down the power of this rebellion, and restoring our bleeding and distracted country to the blessings of peace. Many thousands of dear lives and many millions of money would thus have been spared; for which a poor atonement, indeed, can be found in the learned constitutional arguments against confiscation, which have consumed so much of the time of the present session of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, this never-ending gabble about the sacredness of the Constitution is becoming intolerable; and it comes from exceedingly suspicious sources. We find that just in proportion as a man loves slavery, and desires to exalt it above all "principalities and powers," he becomes most devoutly in love with the Constitution, as *he* understands it. No class of men among us have so much to say about the Constitution as those who are known to sympathize with Jefferson Davis and the pirate crew at his heels. It will not be forgotten that the red-handed murderers and thieves who set this rebellion on foot went out of the Union yelping for the Constitution, which they had conspired to overthrow, through the blackest perjury and treason that ever confronted the Almighty. I remember no men who were so zealously on the side of the Constitution or so studiously careful to save it from all detriment as Breckinridge and Burnett, while they remained nominally on the side of the Union. Every graceless miscreant who has wallowed in the filthy mire of slavery till he has outlived his own conscience, every man who would be openly on the side of the rebels if he had the courage to take his stand, every opponent of a vigorous prosecution of the war by the use of all the powers of war, will be found fulminating his dastardly diatribes on the duty of standing by the Constitution. I notice, also—and I do not mean to be offensive—that the Democratic leaders who have recently issued a semi-rebel address from this city, are most painfully exercised lest the Constitution should suffer in the hands of the present Administration.

Mr. Speaker, I prefer to muster in different company. I prefer to show my fealty to the Constitution by treating it as the charter of liberty, as the foe of rebellion, and as amply armed with the power to save its own life by crushing its foes. Sir, who are these men in whose behalf the Constitution is so persistently invoked? They are rebels, who have defied its power, and who, by taking their stand outside of the Constitution, have driven us to meet them on their chosen ground. By abdicating the Constitution, and conspiring against the government, they have assumed the character of public enemies, and have thus no rights but the rights of war, while in dealing with them we are bound by no laws but the laws of war. Those provisions of the Constitution which define the rights of persons in time of peace, and which must be observed in dealing with criminals, have no application whatever to a state of war, in which criminals acquire the character of enemies. The powers of war are not unconstitutional, because they are recognized and provided for by the Constitution; but their function and exercise are to be regulated by the law of nations governing a state of war, and not by the terms of the Constitution applicable to a state of peace. Hence I must regard much of this clamor about the violation of the Constitution on our part as the sickly higgling of pro-slavery fanatics, or the poorly disguised rebel sympathy of snivelling hypocrites. We must fight traitors where they have chosen to meet us. They have treated the Constitution as no longer in force, and we should give them all the consequences, in full, of their position. By setting the Constitution at naught, they have rested their case on the naked power of lawless might; and, therefore, we will not give them due process of law, by trying, convicting, and hanging them according to the Constitution they have abjured, but we will give them, abundantly, due process of *war*, for which the Constitution makes wise and ample provision.

I have referred, Mr. Speaker, to the influence of slavery in giving us false views of the Constitution. It has also given us false ideas as to the character and purposes of the war. We are fighting, it is said, for the Union as it was. Sir, I should be glad to know what we are to understand by this. If it means that these severed and belligerent States must again be united as one and inseparable, with secession forever laid low, the national supremacy vindicated, and the old flag waving over every State and every rood of the Republic, then I agree to the proposition. Every true Union man will say amen to it. But if, by the Union as it was, we are to understand the Union as we beheld it under the thieving Democracy of the last Administration, with such men as Davis, Floyd, Mason, and their God-forsaken confederates, restored to their places in Congress, in the army, and in the Cabinet; if it means that the reign of terror which prevailed in the Southern States for years prior to this rebellion shall be reëstablished, by which unoffending citizens of the free States can only enter "the sacred soil" of slavery at the peril of life; if, by the Union as it was, be meant the Union with another James Buchanan as its king, and Chief Justice Taney as its annointed high priest, steadily gravitating, by the weight of its own rottenness, into the frightful vortex of civil war; then I am not for the Union as it was, but as I believe it will be, when this rebellion shall have worked out its providential lesson. I confess that I look rather to the future than the past; but if I must cast my eye backward, I shall select the early administrations of the government, when the chains of the slave were crumbling from his limbs, and before the Constitution of 1789 had been mutilated by the servile Democracy of a later generation.

Mr. Speaker, this clamor for the Union as it was comes from men who believe in the divinity of slavery. It comes from those who would restore slavery in this District if they dared; who would put back the chains upon every slave made free by our army; who would completely reëstablish the Slave Power over the National government as in the evil days of the past, which have culminated at last in the present bloody strife, and who are now exhorting us to "leave off agitating the negro question, and attend to the work of putting down the rebellion." Sir, the people of the loyal States understand this question. They know that slavery lies at the bottom of all our troubles. They know that but for this curse, this horrid revolt against liberty and law would not have occurred. They know that all the unutterable agonies of our many battle-fields, all the terrible sorrows which rend so many thousands of loving hearts, all the ravages and desolation of this stupendous conflict, are to be charged to slavery. They know that its barbarism has moulded the leaders of this rebellion into the most atrocious scoundrels of the nineteenth century, or of any century or age of the world. They know that it gives arsenic to our soldiers, mocks at the agonies of wounded enemies, fires on defenceless women and children, plants torpedoes and infernal machines in its path, boils the dead bodies of our soldiers in cauldrons, so that it may make drinking-cups of their skulls, spurs of their jaw bones, and finger-joints as holiday presents for "the First Families of Virginia," and the "descendants of the daughter of Pocahontas." They know that it has originated whole broods of crimes never enacted in all the ages of the past, and that, were it possible, Satan himself would now be ashamed of his achievements, and seek a change of occupation. They know that it hatches into life, under its infernal incubation, the very scum of all the villanies and abominations that ever defied God or cursed his footstool. And they know that it is just as impossible for them to pass through the fiery trials of this war without feeling that slavery is their grand antagonist, as it is for a man to hold his breath and live.

Sir, the loyal people of these States will not only think about slavery, and talk about it, during the progress of this war, but they will seek earnestly to use the present opportunity to get rid of it forever. Nothing can possibly sanctify the trials and sufferings through which we are called to pass but the permanent establishment of liberty and peace. If this is not a war of ideas, it is not a war to be defended. As a mere struggle for political power between opposing States, or a mere question of physical strength or courage, it becomes impious in the light of its horrid baptism of fire and blood. It would rank with the senseless and purposeless wars between the despotisms of the old world, bringing with it nothing of good for freedom or the race. What I said on this floor in January last, I repeat here now, that the mere suppression of this rebellion will be an empty mockery of our sufferings and sacrifices if slavery shall be spared to canker the heart of the nation anew, and repeat its diabolical deeds. Sir, the people of the United States, and the armies of the United States, are not the unreasoning machines of arbitrary power, but the intelligent champions of free institutions, voluntarily espousing the side of the Union upon principle. They know, as does the civilized world, that the rebels are fighting to diffuse and eternize slavery, and that that purpose must be met by a manly and conscientious resistance. They feel that

> "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,"

and that nothing can "ennoble fight" but a "noble cause." Mr. Speaker, I can conceive of nothing more monstrously absurd, or more flagrantly recreant, than the idea of conducting this war against a slaveholders' rebellion as if slavery had no existence. The madness of such a policy strikes me as next to infinite. Here are more than a million of men called into deadly strife by the struggle of this black power to diffuse itself over the continent, and strike down the cause of free government everywhere, deluging these otherwise happy States with suffering and death without parallel in the history of the world; and yet, so far has this power perverted the judgment and debauched the conscience of the country, that we are seriously exhorted to make still greater sacrifices, in order to placate its spirit and spare its life. I thank God that such a policy is simply impossible. The hearts of the people of the free States, and of the soldiers we have sent into the field, beat for liberty; and without their love of liberty, and the belief that it is now in deadly peril, the rebellion would have triumphed, just as the struggle of our fathers, in 1776, would have ended in failure, if it had been possible to make them ignore the great question of human rights which nerved their arms and fired their hearts.

My colleague (Mr. VOORHEES), in his speech the other day, was quite eloquent in his condemnation of the financial management of this war, and quite painstaking in his effort to show the magnitude of the debt it is creating. He would do well to remember that when Mr. Chase took charge of the Treasury, the government could only borrow money by paying one per cent. per month, while United States six per cent. bonds are now at two per cent. premium over American gold. As to the immense burden which this war is heaping upon us, it has been chiefly caused by the mistaken policy of tenderness towards the rebels, and immunity for their pet institution; and this policy has been steadily and strenuously urged by my colleague and his Democratic associates. It has been far less the fault of the Administration than of some of our Commanding Generals, and of conservative gentlemen in both Houses of Congress, who have sought by every means in their power to accommodate the war policy of the government to the equivocal loyalty of the Border States. Many precious lives and many millions of money were sacrificed by the military policy which neither allowed the army of the Potomac to march against the enemy, nor go into winter quarters, during the dreary months which preceded the order of the President directing a combined movement on the 22d of February last. The policy of delay, which has also sought to spare slavery, was never accepted by the President of his own choice, but under the influence of those both in and out of the army in whom he reposed confidence at the time.

I rejoice now to find events all drifting in a different direction. I believe rebels and outlaws are to be dealt with according to their character. I trust slavery is not much longer to be spared. Congress has already sanctioned the policy of gradual abolition, as recommended by the President, who himself recognizes slavery as the grand obstacle to peace. We have abolished slavery in this District, and thus branded it with national reprobation. We have prohibited it in all national territory, now owned or hereafter to be acquired. We have enacted a new article of war, prohibiting our army from aiding in the recapture of fugitives, and I trust we shall promptly repeal the Fugitive Slave law of 1850, or, at least, suspend its operation during the rebellion. We have given freedom to multitudes of slaves through our Confiscation act of last July, and by receiving them into our camps and retaining them in our service. We have enacted the Homestead bill, which at once recognizes the inalienable rights of the people and the dignity of labor, and thus brands the Slave Power as no act of the nation ever did before. Since that power has ceased to dominate in Congress we are perfecting, and shall soon pass a bill for the construction of a Pacific railroad, and another for the abolition of polygamy in Utah. Our watchwords are now—Freedom, Progress.

Those patriotic gentlemen who have been anxious to hang "Abolitionists," as equally guilty with the rebels, are changing their tune. We are reconsidering the folly of dealing with rebels as "misguided brethren," who must not be exasperated, and while we shall not imitate their barbarities, we are learning to apply to their case the Gospel of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." We are waging war in earnest; we are beginning to love freedom almost as dearly as the rebels love slavery; we are animated by a measure of that *resentment* which the rebellion demanded in the very beginning, and has constantly invoked during the progress of the war; and when these troubles are passed the people will honor most those who have sought to crush the rebellion by the quickest and most desperate blows, and who, in the language of Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, have been willing to "recognize *all* men, even black men, as legally capable of that loyalty the blacks are waiting to manifest, and let them fight with God and nature on their side." The proclamation of Gen. Fremont, giving freedom to the slaves of rebels in Missouri, has done more to make his name a household word than could all the military glory of the war; and I rejoice that, while the President saw fit to revoke the recent sweeping order of Gen. Hunter, he took pains to couple that revocation with words of earnest warning, which have neither meaning nor application if they do not recognize the authority of the Executive in his military discretion, to give freedom to the slaves. That this authority will be executed, at no very distant moment, I believe, most firmly. The language of the President obviously implies it, and foreshadows it among the thick-coming events of the future. Conservatives and cowards may recoil from it, and seek to postpone it; but to resist it, unless Congress shall assume it, will be to wrestle with destiny.

Mr. Speaker, I shall support the two measures of confiscation and liberation now before us, for the same reason which led me to support the Confiscation bill of last July. They look in the right direction, and I am glad to see any advance step taken by Congress. But I shall retain, at any rate, my faith in the President, and in that logic of events which shows, amid all the seeming trimphs of slavery, that the anti-slavery idea has been steadily and surely marching towards its triumph. The victories of slavery, in fact, have been its defeats. It triumphed in the Missouri Compromise of 1820; but that triumph, by begetting new exactions, kindled and diffused an unslumbering anti-slavery sentiment which kept pace with every usurpation of its foe. It triumphed in the annexation of Texas; but this, by paving the way for the Mexican war, more fully displayed its spirit of rapacity, and led to an organized political action against which it finally secured the control of the government. It triumphed in 1850, in the passage of the Fugitive Slave act, the Texas boundary bill, the overthrow of the Wilmot Proviso, and the inauguration of the policy of Popular Sovereignty in our Territories, which afterwards brought forth such bloody fruits in Kansas. But these measures, instead of glutting the demands of slavery, only whetted its appetite, and brought upon it the roused and intensified hostility of the people. It triumphed in the repeal of the Missouri restriction; but this was, perhaps, the most signal defeat in the whole history of its career of aggression and lawlessness, completely unmasking its real character and designs, and appealing to both conservatives and radicals to combine against it. It triumphed again in the Dred Scott decision and the election of James Buchanan as President; but this only enabled slave-breeding Democracy to grow to its full stature, and bud and blossom into that perfect luxuriance of diabolism through which the Republican party mounted to power. Slavery triumphed, finally, when it clutched the national Treasury, sent our Navy into distant seas, plundered our arsenals, fired on our flag, and sought to make sure its dominion by wholesale perjury, treason, rapine, and murder; but all this was only a grand challenge to the nation to meet it in mortal combat, giving us the right to choose any weapons recognized by the laws of civilized warfare. Baffled and overborne in all its previous encounters, slavery has now forced upon the nation the question of liberty or death; and I cannot doubt that the triumphs of freedom thus far will be crowned by final victory in this grand struggle. The cost of our victory, in treasure and blood, and the length of the struggle, will depend much upon the madness or the wisdom which may dictate our policy; but I am sure that our country is not so far given over to the care of devils as to allow slavery to come out of this contest with its life. To believe this, would be to take sides with "the fool" who "hath said in his heart, there is no God."

The triumph of anti-slavery is sure. In the day of its weakness, it faced proscription, persecution, violence and death, but it never deserted its flag. It was opposed by public opinion, by the press, the religious organizations of the country, and by great political parties, which it finally rent in twain and trampled under its feet. It is now the master of its own position, while its early heroes are taking their rank among "the noble of all ages." It has forced its way into the presidential chair, and rules in the Cabinet. It dictates the legislation of Congress and speaks in the courts of the Old World. It goes forth with our armies, and is every hour more and more imbuing the soldiers of the Republic with its spirit. Its course is onward, and while

> "The politic statesman looks back with a sigh,
> There is doubt in his heart, there is fear in his eye;"

and even those slimy doughfaces and creeping things that still continue to hiss at "abolitionism," betray a tormenting apprehension that their day and generation are rapidly passing away. In the light of the past the future is made so plain that "he that runs may read." In the year 1850, when the slave power triumphed through the "final settlement" which was then attempted, I had the honor to hold a seat in this body; and I said, in a speech then delivered, that—

> "The suppression of agitation in the non-slaveholding States will not and cannot follow the 'peace measures' recently adopted. The alleged death of the Wilmot Proviso will only prove the death of those who have sought to kill it, while its advocates will be multiplied in every portion of the North. The covenant for the admission of additional slave States will be repudiated, while a renewed and constantly increasing agitation will spring up in behalf of the doctrine of 'no more slave States.' The outrage of surrendering free soil to Texan slavery cannot fail to be followed by the same results, and just as naturally as fuel feeds the flame which consumes it. The passage of the Fugitive Slave bill will open a fresh wound in the North, and it will continue to bleed just as long as the law stands unrepealed. The existence of slavery in the Capital of the Republic, upheld by the laws of Congress, must of itself keep alive an agitation which will be swelled with the continuance of the evil. Sir, these questions are no longer within the control of politicians. Party discipline, presidential nominations, and the spoils of office, cannot stifle the free utterance of the people respecting the great struggle now going on in this country between the free spirit of the North and a domineering oligarchy in the South. Here, sir, lies the great question, and it must be met. Neither acts of Congress nor the devices of partisans can postpone or evade it. It will have itself answered. I am aware that it involves the bread and butter of whole hosts of politicians; and I do not marvel at their attempts to escape it, to smother it, to hide it from the eyes of the people, and to dam up the moral tide which is forcing it upon them. Neither do I marvel at their firing of guns and bachanalian libations over 'the dead body of the Wilmot.' Such labors and rejoicings are by no means unnatural, but they will be followed by disappointment. It is vain to expect to quiet agitation by continued concessions to an institution which is becoming every hour more and more a stigma to the nation, and which, instead of seeking new conquests and new life should be preparing itself with grave clothes for a decent exit from the world; concessions revolting to the humanity, the conscientious convictions, the religion, and the patriotism of the free States."

Sir, I speak to-day in the spirit of these words, uttered nearly twelve years ago, and verified by time. A small band of men in Congress braved public opinion, the ruling influences of the time, and every form of proscription and intimidation, in standing by the cause which was overwhelmingly voted down. But although outvoted, it was not conquered. "It is in vain," says Carlyle, "to vote a false image true. Vote it, and revote it, by overwhelming majorities, by jubilant unanimities, the thing is *not so*; it is *otherwise* than so, and all Adam's posterity, voting upon it till doomsday, cannot change it."

The history of reform bears unfailing witness to this truth. The cause which bore the cross in 1850 wears the crown to-day. "No power can die that ever wrought for truth," while the political graves of recreant statesmen are eloquent with warnings against their mistakes. Where are those Northern statesmen who betrayed liberty in 1820? They are already forgotten, or remembered only in their dishonor. Who now believes that any fresh laurels were won in 1850, by the great men who sought to gag the people of the free States and lay the slab of silence on those truths which to-day write themselves down, along with the guilt of slavery, in the flames of civil war? Has any man in the whole history of American politics, however deeply rooted his reputation or godlike his gifts, been able to hold dalliance with slavery and live? I believe the spirit of liberty is the spirit of God, and if the giants of a past generation were not strong enough to wrestle with it, can the pigmies of the present? It has been beautifully said of Wilberforce that he "ascended to the throne of God with a million of broken shackles in his hands, as the evidence of a life well spent." History will take care of his memory; and when our own bleeding country shall again put on the robes of peace, and freedom shall have leave to gather up her jewels, she will not search for them among the political fossils who are now seeking to spare the rebels by pettifogging their cause in the name of the Constitution, while the slave power is feeling for the nation's throat. No; God is not to be mocked. Justice is sure. The defenders of slavery and its despicable apologists will be nailed to the world's pillory, and the holiest shrines in the temple of American liberty will be reserved for those who shall most faithfully do battle against this rebellion, as a gigantic conspiracy against the rights of human nature and the brotherhood of our race.

FREEDOM THE SHEKINAH OF AMERICA.

OWEN LOVEJOY IN NEW YORK.

[A large audience assembled at the Cooper Institute on Thursday evening, the 12th inst., under the auspices of the Emancipation League, to hear an address from the Hon. OWEN LOVEJOY of Illinois. WM. CULLEN BRYANT, President of the League, presided, fitly introducing the speaker. Mr. Lovejoy, says *The Times*, was received with most flattering welcome. He spoke for nearly two hours and a half, in the most original, energetic and effective style, both as to matter and manner. His speech was replete with argument, illustration, logic and denunciation. It was brimful of pathos, humor, poetry, patriotism, history, piety and eloquence. He fairly held the audience enchained with the charm of his declamation, and the convincing power of his words. His action was, in many respects, inimitable, and well worthy of histrionic fame. In fact, the entire speech was one of the most successful efforts of the kind ever made. Of course our space will not permit us to print the speech in full, but we give below some of its best passages.]

EVERY one who will come to the rescue in the hour of our country's peril and take sides with the Republic against the rebels should be free and respected. That simple fact ought to melt his chains as the summer sun melts the untimely frosts. Was there ever such infatuation since Pharaoh resisted God as that which leads a government to keep loyal slaves in the grasp and clutch of armed and rebellious traitors? Kept and used to supply subsistence, dig trenches, and sometimes to fire their guns! And now, as I have glided into this matter, I will say a few words upon it. Do you not think that loyal black men are good enough to kill disloyal white men? I am not anxious that any special favor should be shown slaves as to employing them in the war. All I ask is that they should be used at the time and in the place and mode when, where, and how they can be made the most useful to the country and best aid in the suppression of the rebellion. I stated in my place in Congress at the extra session that I was in favor of employing any muscle that could and would fight, either white, black, or mixed. I still hold that opinion. Who would refuse to allow a black man to carry a bucket of water if his house was on fire? All we need is to be guided in this matter by the plain dictates of common sense—to let the negro help where and in such modes as he is able to lend us his aid. I think we are wise above what is written when we attempt to be wiser than the patriots of the revolution.

I do not feel that it is any degradation to imitate the example and follow the practice of the leader of the revolution and that of the hero of New Orleans. It is but a simple matter of justice to a despised and enslaved race to say that among the most intrepid individual achievements of the war have been the exploits of Robert Small, who took the steamer Planter out of the harbor of Charleston, whistling his signals, and gliding out under the very muzzles of the guns of the enemy, and sailing into our fleet with a white flag, and delivering up the vessel with a valuable armament to the Federal authorities. Had he been detected and foiled in his plans, death would have been the forfeit, of which he was unquestionably aware.

Congress has done honorably and justly in giving him half the prize. But do you know that Robert Small, according to the local municipal law of South Carolina, can own nothing and earn nothing, and possess nothing which is not his master's? This prize-money, according to the local laws of the State, belongs to the rebel rascal who used to be his owner. It is only by the law of Congress liberating slaves actually employed in the rebellion, passed at the extra session, that this Robert Small is capable legally of owning anything, even himself, or the prize money he so fairly earned.

I would like to know if those who are in favor of reconstructing slavery back to its former ascendancy are also in favor of taking Robert Small, and chucking him back under the cowskin of the rebel knave who used to work him for nothing. Thank God, common sense in the long run is stronger than nonsense. This, and the case of the man who captured and brought a vessel into your own port; the man that came to Burnside, and gave him information of the harbor; the messenger that rushed to Front Royal and gave notice of the approaching foe; these, and scores of other instances that have occurred during this war, if they do not exhibit a quarry, crop out as evidence that there is a mine of loyalty and aid, out of sight, if we had the sagacity to avail ourselves of it. I know that everything said in commendation of the enslaved race is met with derision, as an attempt to exalt the negro, at the expense of our own race. I have all the pride of the Anglo-Saxon race that any one may justly indulge. So much pride, and so much confidence have I in it, that I do not fear, as some seem to fear, any competition from any race, much less the African, even though freed from the thraldom of slavery. I will not, therefore, be deterred by a jeer from being just to a degraded and unfortunate race. If I could honestly earn it, I would ask no better or nobler epitaph than to have it written, "He was the defender of the defenceless—the helper of the helpless."

What do these constitutional croakers mean? Do they intend to tell us that there can be no Union without slavery? Do they mean that there can be no Constitution if slavery should be abolished? Is, then, the wild phantasy that slavery is the corner-stone of Republican institutions accepted as the one idea of free government? Could there be no Virginia and no Georgia if there were no slaves in those States? Is this system of oppression the alpha and omega—the beginning and the ending—of the American Republic? We are told that we must have the Union as it was. With all my heart! Can we not have a Union and a Constitution and a Republic though slavery should pass away? Would our political fabric crumble though there were no Stanly to break up common schools, exile native-born citizens, and drive the shrinking, loyal fugitive back to her rebel master?

This is the strangest infatuation that ever frenzied the human brain. The Union is for freedom—the Constitution was ordained for freedom—the Republic is for freedom, and yet Union, Constitution, and the Republic are broken, violated, and gone if we do not preserve and perpetuate slavery! Was there no heaven when Satan and his traitorous hordes were driven to the pit? Cannot a man be well unless he has a cancer growing at his vitals? Cannot a man be sane unless he is raving with delirium? We must have the Union as it was. That is what I desire, the Union as it was in the beginning. If a crew mutiny and convert a merchant vessel into a pirate ship, does the owner who captures the ship, hangs the crew, and returns the vessel to the purposes of a lawful commerce, destroy or injure the vessel? So with the ship Constitution, Old Ironsides. The slaveholders have converted it into a slave pirate ship. All that we propose is to pull down their black and bloody flag, throw overboard their manacles and handcuffs, hoist the flag of Liberty, freight it with human rights, and return it to the pathway where the fathers launched it to sail evermore on a voyage of freedom. It is no sufficient reply to this that there are vested rights which emancipation would interfere with or destroy. I will not now stop to scout, as it ever ought to be scouted, the wild and guilty phantasy that man can have any vested right as property in man, but can there be anything so sacred that it must not yield to the public safety—the life of the nation? When it is demonstrated that the permanent existence of slavery is incompatible with the safety, and even the life of the nation, shall not the pretended claims of slavery give away? Had not the people of Rome a right to drain the Pontine Marshes, whose malarious exhalations nightly rose and spread over the city, bearing sickness and death to its households, although it might interfere with the water lots of frog breeders and snake fanciers? The health of the city was of more consequence than the vested rights of the reptile-mongers that lived on the margin of the immense bog. I beg to know just how sacred this right of enslaving men is. I desire to understand its height and depth, its length and breadth. At what graduated point on the scale of sacred and precious things does it stand? Is it as sacred as property? The people will have given a thousand millions of property before this struggle is over, a free-will offering, to save the country. Business prostrated, the affluent reduced to beggary, bankruptcy which no skill could foresee and no sagacity avoid, submitted to uncomplainingly, for the sake of the country. It can almost be said of the commercial community of our great cities, as it was of the early Christians—they took the spoiling of their goods joyfully—the one for Christ's sake and the other for their country's sake. All classes throughout the land have suffered in their kind and degree, in the same manner and for the same purpose. Is property in the bodies and souls of men made in the image of God and redeemed by the blood of atonement any more sacred than other property? Can every other pecuniary interest be sacrificed on the altar of public weal, and this anomalous and impious claim of property in human flesh remain untouched, as too sacred to be meddled with? Human life is sacred. Yet when Ellsworth fell, we said it was right; he died for his country. The scholarly and intrepid and gentle Winthrop was slain, and grief-stricken, we bowed, saying it was for his country. The gallant Baker fell at that terrible slaughter of Ball's Bluff, and we acquiesced, exclaiming it was for his country. The noble-hearted Lyon was borne lifeless from the bloody battle of Springfield, and to assuage our anguish we cried, he died for his country. Gen. Wallace, my neighbor, and I know not how many scores, gave up their lives on the hard-fought field of Shiloh, forty of whom, my constituents, were brought home, and buried in one grave; but we submitted to the terrible tragedy, for they were slain fighting the battles of their country. The story of Williamsburg and Fair Oaks is not yet told. What a vast and precious sacrifice of human life has there been to preserve the republic! Is slavery more sacred than all this human life? There is a young man, the only son of his mother, and she a widow. His country calls, and he says, "Mother, I am going to enlist." Then comes the struggle—a convulsive struggle—between a mother's love and the love of country—an only son and the republic. At last, with a divine energy of self-sacrifice, she says, in broken sobs, "Go, my son; fight, and if it must be, die for your country." I have seen this. And now, in God's name, is this unholy thing, slavery, more sacred than all these? Shall property vanish, the dead be piled in hecatombs on the field of slaughter, parental hearts pierced with the arrows of anguish, wife, sister and betrothed stricken with grief, and yet the clutch of the enslaver remain unrelaxed, and the fell destroyer who has caused all this waste of property and life, all this mental and heart suffering, be left unmolested! It cannot be. We are not thus bereft of reason. I have no patience with those who enshrine this stupendous crime and surround it with the sanctity of an idol, and say, Let it alone—Great is Diana of the Ephesians! Great is American slavery!

The adoption by both Houses of Congress, by a large vote, of the resolution which the President sent to Congress in March last, forms another distinct landmark in our progress freedomward, which is the road to national salvation. Some think the butter is spread on rather thin in this resolution. But the Executive rail-splitter understands his business. He knows that the thin end of the wedge must first enter the wood (laughter). Did you ever witness the process of rail-making? The operator first takes the iron wedge, sharpened at one end to a thin point, and strikes it into the wood, just so it will sustain itself, and then with the mall drives it to its head. So the Executive has taken the Abolition wedge, and struck it into the log of slavery (applause), and now the heavy mall of abolition must let the blows fall till it is driven to the head, and the log riven in twain (great applause). But mark, in very ugly and cross-grained, or frozen wood, the blows have to be a little easy at first, or the wedge flies out (roars of laughter). It is not worth while to strike so hard as to have a rebound, for that would retard the work in the long run.

The President is like a man driving a horse in the thills of a buggy, and leading another behind by a halter-strap. The one in the shaft is a most superb animal—broad between the eyes, ears small, short around the throat, stifle full and hard, short coupled, and can clear ditch and hedge, high-spirited and fast, and in all points just such a steed as the pencil of Rosa Bonheur would delight to trace, and such as Bonner or Vanderbilt never drew line upon (laughter). The creature behind is a very different kind of animal; he can do nothing but hold back; he jerks and sags back on the halter; he has a large head, striking auricular development; his ribs are as distinct as hoops on a barrel; his hip bones are enormously high, and he bears unmistakable evidence of never having made the acquaintance of the oat-bin, and his caudal destitution is precisely that of Tam O'Shanter's mare after she made the convulsive spring that brought Tam safe across the running stream, where warlock and witch could na' follow (great laughter). It is very awkward managing two horses in this way, as I know from experiment (renewed merriment). Now, the President knows that the horse Radical that he is driving can go ahead, for he has by him been taken in handsome style into the Executive Chair (laughter); but he is a little afraid that this mettlesome charger cannot be trusted going down hill, otherwise he would let go of the old rackabones that hobbles along behind (applause). Now, I do not propose to dash ahead so as to throw the President out or break the carriage, but to go so steadily that the Executive can be assured that he is safe with the radical steed, down hill as well as up, and on level ground, and then he will drop the strap and let the old conservative Rosinante go to grass (thunders of applause). I am for pouring on all the steam that the machinery will bear; but it is better to get into port a few hours later than to risk the explosion of the machinery. If the President does not believe all I do, I believe all he does (applause and laughter). If he does not drive as fast as I would, he is on the same road, and it is a question of time. The great tide of events sweeps onward under a guiding power of a superintending Providence, bearing with it President and Cabinet and Congress. Safe pilotage is quite as needful now as propulsive power, for there is a semi-secession foe crouching in the jungles of a sham Democracy, ready to spring upon the Union forces at the very first opportunity that promises any success. There may be an eddy in the flow of this great river, but the resistless current sweeps onward (applause).

The first message of the President to which I have referred, recommends the abolishment of slavery by a system of gradual emancipation, to be carried out under the combined and coöperative auspices of Congress and the States. He uses the word *abolishment*. I should have used the word *abolition*; but I have consulted Webster, and I find that abolishment means abolition; so that while we differ in the *termination*, we do not differ in the *determination* (applause). In the first message the President says he does not desire that this rebellion should descend into a remorseless revolutionary struggle, and, to avoid that, urges the Border States to emancipate their slaves in the mode indicated as the only means of avoiding a remorseless struggle, and tells the slaveholders distinctly that the means indispensable to the suppression of the rebellion must and will be used—that if the slaveholders do not voluntarily break the yoke, some one else must (applause). In the second message he disavows the order of Gen. Hunter, on the ground that it is only competent for him to give such orders. An English King being present at the ceremony of high mass performed by a hierarch of the Roman Church in Paris, was so struck with the imposing rites and the dignity of the high priest, that he said to his brother King of France that he would never allow a *subject* to perform such an imposing ceremony. So the President reserves to himself the honor of emancipating the slaves (applause). I do not blame him. If I were President and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, I would make proclamation of Freedom myself. No one should take from me the glory and fame of such a transaction. I would have my name forever associated with that act of liberation, and let it float down through the ages thus associated (applause). And he virtually tells the slaveholders that he will do it if they do not hasten the good work. "You cannot," says he, "mistake the signs of the times." You have it in your power, in the Providence of God, to do a great work of beneficence, such as the world has rarely witnessed. I urge you to do it, and to do it at once. The tide of events sweeps onward. I give you a few days more of grace. It is better for all that *you* should do it. This proposition is made in good faith. But if you will not, I will. I have the power. I have the right. It will be my duty, and I will do it. You must take the consequences of your neglect. "Because I called, and ye refused, I stretched out my hand, and no man regarded it; therefore, I will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh; when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction as a whirlwind" (applause). If the President does not mean all this, I wish he did (laughter).

If the President does not move as rapidly as you desire, if he is over scrupulous of forms, it is some compensation to know that the Commander-and-Chief of more than half a million of soldiers, and who is frequently under the necessity of acting without authority of law will take no undue advantage of the power, for the time almost unlimited, that is placed in his hands. It is something, yea much to know that the liberties of the people and the supremacy of law, though from the temporary urgency to some slight extent infringed upon, will be restored unimpaired. Let us, then, give the President a cordial, loyal and sympathizing support (applause). Never has a President, not even Washington, been beset with so many trials and difficulties as environ him. The wonder is not that he should make mistakes, but that he should make so few. I no more doubt his anti-slavery integrity, his ultimate anti-slavery action, than I do my own (applause). In the words which Webster put into the mouth of the elder Adams, "I see clearly through this day's business." The rebellion will be suppressed. I stand awe-struck and overpowered in the awful presence of the grand and sublime uprising of the people of this nation. It is the miracle of the martial history of the world. The flag of the Union floats over more loyal armorclad men than the flag of any one nationality ever floated over before. England, when the honor of her national prowess was at stake, in the Crimean war, could hardly muster 25,000 men.

The recent call of the government, revealing the unconscious reserved power of the people, demonstrated that a million of men would respond to the call of the Executive. The rebellion will be suppressed, and American slavery will be swept away, and the theory of our government be a practical and glorious reality. I see the future and regenerated republic reposing Queen among the nations of the earth, its flag, after this baptism of blood, having become the symbol of universal and impartial freedom. There is not a slaveholder to hurt or destroy in all its Holy Mountain, not a fetter or a scourge for the limb or person of the innocent. Nay, I see the whole continent, by a process of peaceful assimilation, converted into republics like our own. I behold the Genius of Liberty standing upon some lofty peak of the Rocky Mountains, or of the Andes, looking northward and southward, eastward and westward, from Arctic to Antarctic, from the Atlantic shore to the Pacific wave, gazing upon a vast ocean of free republics,

> "Distinct like the billows, yet one like the sea."

And when I look over that broad, magnificent field, covered with teeming life, with its cities, towns and farms, its workshops, school-houses and churches, with all the varied and wonderful development of science, art, education and religion, that follows in the pathway of a free Christian civilization, as it moves along, majestic and queen-like, leading and guiding the generations onward and heavenward—then I exclaim, "Long live the Republic! Let it be perpetual"; but American slavery, which would blot out that Republic, let it *perish!* PERISH !! PERISH !!! (Great applause, during which the speaker retired.)

SCORPION STANLY.

From The Evening Post.

THE name which the indignant O'Connell used to give to Lord Stanly will much better apply to the cruel wretch whom the government, by some mistake, has appointed Military Governor of North Carolina. He is a scorpion or scourge of the most malignant sort. His first act, on arriving within sight of his seat of power, was to disperse the charitable schools which the benevolence of the North had gathered in that benighted State; his second was to deliver up the fugitive slaves who had escaped to our camps to their owners, whether loyal or disloyal; his third was to expatriate, in the most arbitrary manner, an eminent and useful citizen of the State who dared to make a few simple suggestions of policy; and the fourth will be, we presume, the ordering of Burnside to evacuate his tents, surrender all the property he has seized, and betake himself and his Yankees to Rhode Island or some other part of New England.

Stanly perpetrates these outrages in the name of the local law of North Carolina, which he alleges he was sent to execute. But his plea is false in the first place, and invalid in the second. He was not deputed to enforce the local laws of North Carolina. Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, from whom he must have received his instructions, declares that he would not belong to an Administration which could authorize or sanction such nefarious proceedings as those of Stanly. It was, however, needless for him to make the disavowal; for no one with a grain of sense could suppose that the government would stultify itself so far as to dispatch an officer to enforce local laws which would deprive that officer himself of all right to act. Stanly holds his place under the military necessity created by the circumstances of the time; the position of Military Governor is not known to the Constitution of the United States; neither is it known to the laws of North Carolina; on the contrary, the only Governor whom those laws recognize is Gov. Clark, a secessionist; and consequently, if Stanly's business is to enforce the local laws, he must quit his appointment at once, and hand over his commission to Gov. Clark, and assist Clark in expelling Burnside and his forces. Our troops are in the State in opposition to the local law, so far as there is any, and according to Stanly's logic they ought to depart incontinently, or be sent away, just as Mr. Helper was sent away.

Nay, worse than that; if the local laws of North Carolina are to be enforced at all, they must be enforced in all their length and breadth; the penalties prescribed for their infringement must be executed; and the hundred and more white men and women who have been engaged in the laudable task of teaching the colored people must be punished for their temerity. The laws of North Carolina ordain that any one who shall "teach a slave to read or write, or sell or give him any book or pamphlet shall be punished with thirty-nine lashes or imprisonment, if the offender be a free negro; but if a white, then with a fine of two hundred dollars." Now, Dr. Colyer and his scores of male and female assistants have made themselves amenable to these penalties. Each one of them should be fined in the sum of two hundred dollars; the free negroes who have assisted them should receive their thirty-nine lashes on the back, administered by Scorpion Stanly; and all the volunteer soldiers from Rhode Island, New York and New Hampshire who have made themselves accomplices in the crime should be proportionately punished.

The audacity of this Military Governor seems to be sufficient to carry him to these lengths. In his zeal for executing the local laws of North Carolina he does not scruple about violating the general laws of the United States. It is a law of the United States that speech shall be free; but Stanly threatens to expatriate every citizen and dismiss every officer who shall express an opinion of the propriety of his acts. It is also a law of the United States that "all officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States *are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from any person to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due*, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article, shall be dismissed from the service." But Stanly, an officer in the military service of the United States, arrests and returns these fugitives, not by couples or dozens, but by the hundred. More than that, too; he erects himself into a supreme dictator, orders all departing vessels to be searched for contrabands, and threatens such as harbor them with confiscation if they are found.

Are the laws of the Union to be set at nought in

this manner. Is this miserable tool of the North Carolina secessionists to be allowed to continue his malignant outrages? The telegraph tells us that Secretary Stanton has written to revoke the foolish order disbanding the schools; but is that enough to vindicate the majesty of the law and satisfy the alarmed justice and humanity of the free States? Should not Stanly be dismissed at once, as the articles of war require, and with severe rebuke? When Gen. Hunter interposed his military authority in behalf of freedom the President was quick to revoke it in a formal proclamation, in which he declared that he reserved the whole management of the slave question to himself, as Commander-in-Chief; will he be less quick to countermand and disavow an interference which is not relieved by any motives of humanity, but which is infamous in itself, a disgrace to the nation, and an offence to the enlightened conscience of the civilized world?

Stanly's proceedings should be a warning to Congress to hasten the measures of confiscation and emancipation which they now have in hand. If the government had declared its policy, on these subjects, at an earlier day, we should not now be compelled to blush for what has been done; we should have had a uniform rule for the guidance of all the provisional governors that are sent out; and the good work of to-day would not be nullified by the evil work of to-morrow. Our error, from the beginning of this war, has been the want of decision and consistency in the prosecution of it, and unless we correct it soon, the troubles and calamities it has brought about will be prolonged for years.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NO. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

FOURTH OF JULY!

IT has been the invariable custom of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society to commemorate this National Anniversary; not, however, in the boastful spirit and inflated manner of those who rejoiced in a Union with slaveholders, and who could see no contradiction, in such a Union, to the great principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776. Our celebration has ever been with the distinct and simple purpose of recalling to the mind and impressing upon the heart of the people the great "self-evident truths, that *all* men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Confident that our repeated testimonies on these National Anniversaries have been as good seed, sown upon soil long indeed stubborn and unyielding, but at length fertilized, and now full of promise of a glorious harvest—soon, we trust, to be gathered in—we again invite and summon the friends of freedom, of every name and age, and whether living within or beyond the bounds of this our honored Commonwealth, to meet with us, as aforetime, and in even greater numbers than ever before, at the beautiful and well-known FRAMINGHAM GROVE, on the ensuing Fourth of July.

We need say nothing of the beauty and many attractions of the spot, whether for adults or for the young. The day and the occasion constitute the real claims upon our attention, and to these let the Anti-Slavery men and women of Massachusetts, and of New England, respond fitly, as they so well know how to do.

The Boston and Worcester Railroad Co. will convey passengers to and from the Grove, upon their main road and its branches, on that day, at hours to be more particularly announced hereafter, and at the same reduced fares as last year, and in some instances at lower rates.

Speakers, and other particulars, to be announced in future papers.

Friends, one and all! Let us be like those who wait for their Lord, at his coming; that, whether it be at midnight, or at cock-crowing, or in the morning, we may be found ready, our lamps trimmed and burning. Now is the time for us to work with redoubled energy and zeal. The enemy everywhere is sowing tares. If possible, the very elect will be deceived. Let *not one* stay his hand, or hold back his testimony; but, with renewed purpose and with increased hope, do battle valiantly for God and humanity, until the diminishing advocates of slavery are driven forever from the field, and "Liberty be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
HENRY O. STONE,
CHARLES A. HOVEY,
} Committee of Arrangements.

THE FUTURE OF THE WHITE SOUTH.

THE process of "unthreading the rude eye of Rebellion" has now proceeded far enough to make it not absurd to speculate as to what may be, or must be, the future which lies before the governing classes of the slaveholding States. Although reverses may yet await the arms of the nation which may delay the final crushing of the insurrection, the worst can hardly do more than delay it for a little. The encompassing coil of the forces of the Union, now that it has clasped the whole body-politic of the rebellion in its tightening strain, must crush the breath and the life out of it, before long. Any real disaster in Virginia or farther West would summon any necessary, and any superfluous, quantity of men from the free States to repair it, and to make another impossible. The resources of the North seem hardly to have been touched as yet, while those of the rebels can scarcely be eked out much longer, even by the masterly skill which has been displayed in their management thus far. The heaviest artillery and the longest purse—which are indeed convertible terms—is what decides the fate of all issues put upon the arbitrament of battle. "The two main nerves, iron and gold," by which Milton says war moves, always settle such conflicts in favor of the party that is strongest in them. It is now demonstrated, so that even English prejudice cannot deny the fact, that the North has all the material strength which makes victory a final necessity. No nation, by the consent of all military observers competent to speak in the premises, ever raised so large an army, in the same time, of such fine material, and never armed one better or fed it half so well. And as for the indiscipline which had been so fondly prophesied, Generals at the head of armies obey the President, as the London *Spectator* well says, as if he were Napoleon. So the physical suppression of the rebellion is no longer a question of doubt, but only one of time.

But behind this material disposition of the rebellion there remains a moral one to be made of it, even more perplexing in its projection and more uncertain in its result. It needs no very elaborate argument to prove that a beating does not necessarily produce the repentance and reformation of the beaten party. If men convinced against their will are always of the same opinion still, yet more so are men who have been compelled to submit to the prevalence of the opinion that they hate by dint of hard knocks and cracked crowns. After the rebellion is nominally quelled, after the rebel armies are dispersed and all their strongholds in the possession of the United States, its hard and cruel heart will remain as it was before, or rather made harder and more cruel by the rage of defeat and the agony of griefs, losses and sufferings, all endured in vain. The dear and delicious Democratic dream that the capture of Richmond will be followed by the submission of the South, or rather by its consenting to dictate the terms on which it will vouchsafe to come back and govern us again, will prove as delusive as any that ever issued from the ivory gate, through which

"——falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia Manes."

The wish is father to the thought. They think the rebels no more in earnest in their treason than they themselves are in their loyalty, they that indulge in these fond hopes. That there is any appreciable reserve of Union feeling in the slave States is an imagination which the whole experience of the campaign has proved to be a false one. No loyalty is professed, excepting within range of the rifles of our troops, or, more properly, there only is disloyalty dissembled. The withdrawing of our forces would be followed, if not by an instant outbreak of insurrection, certainly by a practical nullification of the laws of the nation. Who believes that the courts of the United States could be held in Charleston or Richmond, and their process run into the rural districts of the slave States, excepting under the immediate presence or the swift neighborhood of United States troops? The government would be as helpless to protect any of its citizens in their legal rights, as it has always been to defend Abolitionists, in all those States, except by the strong hand always held over them. Probably, no Southern man would be permitted to hold a United States office excepting within call of a battery of cannon.

We apprehend that there can be but two ways of ending the present civil war—the one, the recognition of the Confederacy, and the other a regeneration of Southern society under the compulsion of military law. The first is, of course, inadmissible and impossible. The North will never consent to be deprived of a square foot of the territory of the nation. No matter how much it may cost, that may be accepted as a preliminary axiom antecedent to the consideration of the problem. The other is the only horn of the dilemma upon which we can lay hold with any hope. And if entered upon and carried out wisely and humanely, it will, in the course of a generation or so, redeem the South from the degradation in which she was plunged before her rebellion, and from the ruin she has brought upon herself by it. No one can read the impartial and dispassionate testimony of Mr. Olmsted without discerning, what the Abolitionists have all along affirmed, that the slave States are in a condition of barbarism, exactly proportioned to the degree in which they are tainted by slavery. Society there is almost precisely what it was all over Europe three or four hundred years ago. A class of landed proprietors, possessing all the education and intelligence, with an exterior of courtesy often among themselves, but one liable to be replaced on slight provocation by brutal and savage violence, for which they were always ready from their habit of going armed, standing on the necks of a predial population, almost without rights, slaves indeed as much as ours at the South, the contempt felt for whom is stamped upon the English tongue by the adoption of their proper appellations—knave, villain, varlet, and the like—as terms of the uttermost reviling. The mediæval slaves having the advantage of the same color with their masters, it was not so hard to supersede their serfdom gradually by force of civilization. But Southern society has become so thoroughly rotten, depraved and demoralized by its vicious institutions, that no reformation seems possible that can proceed from within itself. It has not the elements of recovery, and can only be cured by the knife and cautery. This the North must apply, or consent to suffer by sympathy the leprosy which makes the South loathsome, and perhaps to perish miserably with her.

We are well aware that there is a large party at the North who would willingly take the risk of future evils for a postponement of them to a more convenient season. But we are confident that this is not an alternative that the South will suffer them to choose. No reconstruction of the Union is possible, excepting through the reconstruction of Southern society. The North must choose between letting the slave States go, and governing them by the military arm, with all the incidents of such a condition of things. Slavery must be abolished as a preliminary of the new polity. This we believe the President sees, and is ready to do, if driven to it by the mad rage of passionate rebellion, unless he be anticipated by the action of the rebels themselves. This action, however, would not deliver them from the fate of conquest which impends over the South, though it would make the task of its regeneration an easier one. When the armies of the rebels are dispersed, and the South, angry and sullen, submits to what she cannot prevent, there is but one way of keeping her in order, and that is by the military occupation of her seaports and capital cities, and the according to her of no more self-government than she is willing to use well. The disfranchisement of all willingly engaged in the rebellion, and the forfeiture of their lands, would open the way to a great immigration from the North, which would gradually put a new face on political and politico-economical affairs. Absolute protection guaranteed by the nation, and protected by bayonets and cannon, to freedom of speech and the press, with wise labors for the elevation, moral and material, of the poor whites as well as the negroes, would soon change the whole aspect of the land. Northern capital would flow in, and Northern intelligence and ingenuity be applied to the development of the resources of the soil. Churches and schools would help in the good work, and make the laboring population more and more intelligent and civilized. The present small ruling class might either stay and help, or take themselves out of the way. They are now, as a general thing, mere cumberers of the ground, and could be perfectly well done without. In a quarter of a century at the farthest—and probably much sooner—a new class of beings would possess the land. The poor whites and the negroes, stimulated by the possibility of improving their condition, would go on from good to better. Civilization would bless the families as well as the soil of the South. The products of the soil would be infinitely multiplied, and trade would be as vastly increased by the growth of the consuming classes. The only element of weakness would be removed from our empire, and we should go on from strength to strength till we grew to be the mightiest Power on Earth. Nothing, it seems to us, but folly worse than crime can now hinder this blessed renovation through the infusion of new blood into the veins of the South, which should change her premature old age into fresh youth, and her deformity into beauty and grace.

MISSOURI.

THE bright hopes lately indulged in some quarters of the speedy abolition of slavery in Missouri were dashed, a few days since, by the action of the State Convention, which, by a very large majority, rejected a scheme of very gradual emancipation. For an account of the action referred to, see a letter from St. Louis to *The Tribune*, on the fourth page. Subsequently, however, Gov. Gamble sent a special message to the Convention, calling attention to President Lincoln's scheme of State Emancipation, and the offer by Congress of aid to such States as may adopt it. He thought it a scheme of "unexampled liberality," and one calling for "a courteous response." Indeed, he said it would be unbecoming to pass in silence such a proposition, originating with the United States. The subject being thus reopened, the following resolutions were adopted, 32 to 27:

Whereas, The Congress of the United States, on the special recommendation of the President, has adopted a joint resolution in the following words, to wit:

Resolved, That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State, at its discretion, compensation for the inconvenience, public and private, produced by such a change of system—

And, whereas, The President of the United States in his recent proclamation revoking and annulling a certain unauthorized declaration assumed to be made by Maj.-Gen. Hunter, of the United States Army, has earnestly invited the people of the States interested to take into consideration the said joint resolution.

Resolved, first, That in the opinion of this Convention the proposition contained in the said joint resolution adopted by Congress, approved 1862, is entitled, as well from its source as to its intrinsic importance, to the deliberate and respectful consideration of the people of Missouri.

Resolved, second, That while a majority of the Convention have not felt authorized at this time to take action in respect to this grave and delicate question of private right and public policy presented by said resolution, yet this body desires cordially to recognize as well the generous spirit therein displayed by the government of the United States, as the eminent patriotism and ability which have distinguished the President of the United States in his efforts to subdue this unholy rebellion, and restore peace and order to this State.

The upshot of the matter, as we understand it, is just this: The friends of slavery in Missouri are determined to resist the President's scheme; but, standing in need of Executive favor and patronage, they adopted the above resolutions as a sop to his feelings, and in the hope that he would generously accept "soft words" in place of the action he was looking for at their hands. The President may get from this a hint of what is likely to be the fruit of his Border State policy.

A NEW TRIUMPH OF LIBERTY.

IT will thrill every lover of Liberty to know that both Houses of Congress have united in passing the following act, which now only awaits the signature of the President to make it the solemn and righteous law of the land:

"To the end that Freedom may be and remain forever the fundamental law of the land in all places whatsoever, so far as it lies within the power or depends upon the action of the government of the United States to make it so, therefore,

"*Be it enacted*, That from and after the passage of this act there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the Territories of the United States now existing, or which may at any time hereafter be formed or acquired by the United States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

A few weeks ago, every true heart beat with enthusiasm when the telegraph told the welcome story that the fetters had fallen from three thousand slaves in the District of Columbia. That good deed of the government has speedily found its parallel in another, securing freedom throughout all the vast extent of the Territories of the Republic. In the whole history of American statesmanship, no instances can be pointed out of nobler legislation than these two acts, which will forever gild the pages of the statute-book whereon they are inscribed.

In future years, when our vast, unsettled Western frontier shall have grown into rich and populous States, when cities shall be built where now forests wave, when cultivated farms shall cover the wastes where now wild herds of buffaloes graze, the far-reaching beneficence of this act will be more gratefully recognized than to-day.

Nor will any future Congress be likely to repeal it. When Ohio was the farthest State west, and Indiana was a territory and a wilderness, settlers from Kentucky plunged into the Indiana forests to hew out log cabins to live in. The territory was free by virtue of the Ordinance of 1787. The new settlers, who had been accustomed to use slave labor in Kentucky, petitioned Congress to suspend the ordinance of freedom for ten years, till they could send for their slaves to come over and cut down the trees. Their petition was referred to a committee, of whom the celebrated John Randolph of Roanoke was Chairman. He revolved the strange request in his mind, and wrote a report declaring that slavery would be a curse to the new territory, and that, if the ordinance were suspended, the children of the settlers would live to execrate the day and the deed. The soil was, therefore, kept sacredly free, and the growth of Indiana ever since has been like a young oak! Such is the value of an early edict of freedom to a rising State. Such will be the value, in coming years, of the new edict which we chronicle to-day.

Of late years, legislation for Liberty has been a novel employment for an American Congress. But at present, both Houses are manifesting a growing zeal to render true service to the country. We ardently desire that, having triumphantly gone thus far in the path of duty, they will not stop till they have gone farther. The bill now before Congress for emancipating the slaves of traitors, having passed the House, is hanging in the scale of fate in the Senate. We hope to see the long discussion soon ended, and the bill passed. Then we hope the people will demand, and the government will perform, the final, crowning, victorious act of Universal Emancipation. God speed the work!

GEN. BUTLER'S SHORT METHOD WITH TRAITORS.

GEN. BUTLER has administered the punishment of treason by hanging a traitor. This, so far as we know, is the only instance of such a penalty decreed either by the military or the civil power during the war.

The offense was tearing down the flag of the United States hoisted by Commodore Farragut over the Mint. The offender was William B. Mumford, a man about forty years of age. The trial was before a Military Commission of Treason. The warrant for the execution was in the following words:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, }
NEW ORLEANS, June 5, 1862. }

SPECIAL ORDER No. 70.—William B. Mumford, a citizen of New Orleans, having been convicted before the Military Commission of treason and an overt act thereof in tearing down the United States flag from a public building of the United States, for the purpose of inciting other evil-minded persons to further resistance to the laws of the United States, after said flag was placed there by Commodore Farragut of the United States Navy,

It is ordered that he be executed, according to the sentence of the said Military Commission, on Saturday, June 7, inst., between the hours of 8 a.m. and 12, under the direction of the Provost Marshal of the District of New Orleans; and for so doing this shall be his sufficient warrant. By command of

Major-Gen. BUTLER, General Commanding.

The New Orleans journals give a detailed description of the scene at the execution. The gallows projected from the second story of the Mint, under the flag-staff from which the traitor hauled down the flag. After bidding farewell in private to his wife and children, he was led upon the scaffold, where he made a brief speech to the vast multitude who stood as spectators, excusing his offence as committed under excitement, and exhorting all men, when called upon to meet death, to meet it firmly. The presence of a large force of cavalry and infantry kept solemn order in the crowd during the ceremonies. When the unfortunate man finished speaking, the platform sank beneath his feet, and his soul escaped into eternity.

The spectacle fulfilled its design in producing upon the rebellious city the impression that, whoever else may deal tenderly with treason, Maj.-Gen. Butler is in solemn earnest to put it down.

CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESIDENT.

THE following private letter, which the Boston *Journal* was permitted to publish, shows what is thought of President Lincoln by one of the purest and best men in the country and one of the most earnest and devoted friends of emancipation:

SENATE CHAMBER, June 5, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: Your criticism of the President is hasty. I am confident that, if you knew him as I do, you would not make it.

Of course, the President cannot be held responsible for the misfeasances of subordinates, unless adopted or at least tolerated by him. And I am sure that nothing unjust or ungenerous will be tolerated, much less adopted, by him.

I am happy to let you know that he has no sympathy with Stanly in his absurd wickedness, closing the schools, nor again in his other act of turning our camp into a hunting-ground for slaves. He repudiates both—positively. The latter point has occupied much of his thought; and the newspapers have not gone too far in recording his repeated declarations, which I have often heard from his own lips, that slaves finding their way into the National lines are never to be reënslaved. This is his conviction, expressed without reserve.

Could you have seen the President—as it was my privilege often—while he was considering the great questions on which he has already acted—the invitation to Emancipation in the States, Emancipation in the District of Columbia, and the acknowledgment of the independence of Hayti and Liberia—even your zeal would have been satisfied, for you would have felt the sincerity of his purpose to do what he could to carry forward the principles of the Declaration of Independence. His whole soul was occupied, especially by the first proposition, which was peculiarly his own. In familiar intercourse with him, I remember nothing more touching than the earnestness and completeness with which he embraced this idea. To his mind it was just and beneficent, while it promised the sure end of slavery. Of course, to me, who had already proposed a Bridge of Gold for the retreating fiend, it was most welcome. Proceeding from the President, it must take its place among the great events of history.

If you are disposed to be impatient at any seeming shortcomings, think, I pray you, of what has been done in a brief period, and from the past discern the sure promise of the future. Knowing something of my convictions, and of the ardor with which I maintain them, you may, perhaps, derive some assurance from my confidence. I say to you, therefore, stand by the Administration. If need be, help it by word and act, but stand by it and have faith in it.

I wish that you really knew the President, and had heard the artless expression of his convictions on those questions which concern you so deeply. You might, perhaps, wish that he were less cautious, but you would be grateful that he is so true to all that you have at heart. Believe me, therefore, you are wrong, and I regret it the more because of my desire to see all our friends stand firmly together.

If I write strongly, it is because I feel strongly; for my constant and intimate intercourse with the President, beginning with the 4th of March, not only binds me peculiarly to his Administration, but gives me a personal as well as a political interest in seeing that justice is done him,

Believe me, my dear sir, with much regard, ever faithfully yours, CHARLES SUMNER.

THE VICTORY IN THE HOUSE.

THAT dreadful word Emancipation, which has so long been a bugbear to timid members of Congress—which for several weeks has kept half-a-dozen representatives in a constant shiver of fear—has at last lost its terrors, and is to be written down as the law of the land.

On Wednesday, the bill emancipating the slaves of rebels passed the House of Representatives, by a vote of 82 to 54. Of course, it yet waits to run the gauntlet of the Senate. But hardly a doubt is entertained that it will have a triumphant passage through the Upper House.

It provides for the emancipation of the slaves of all officers of the rebel army and navy; of all high officers of State, judges, and foreign ministers and consuls; of Governors and members of State conventions, legislatures, and judiciary; of all persons who have held office under the United States who take office in rebel States; of all who hold any office or agency whatever under the Confederate States, accepted since the adoption of the secession ordinance of the State in which said person resides; of every person who, after the passage of this act, shall be in rebellion against the United States, and who shall not within sixty days return to allegiance.

This bill, if executed in good earnest, will go far toward abolishing slavery in every Southern State: for we apprehend that the various classes of persons enumerated, who are to forfeit their slaves, comprise a great proportion of the entire body of slaveholders.

The bill thus deals a hard blow and staggering wound to the slave-system. After the Senate shall pass and the President shall sign it, the great remaining duty of the government will be, to say to itself: "Three measures of the present Congress have brought glory upon the nation: first, Freedom in the Great Square of the Capital: second, Freedom in all the territories of the Republic: third, Freedom to the slaves of traitors. One other measure remains, which shall eclipse the glory of all these: UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION."

This one great measure covers and contains all others. Let Congress enact it, and so end the war, adjourn, and go home. Then shall we see palmy days, and a land at peace!

SLAVE-TRADER CONVICTED.

APPLETON OAKSMITH, son of Seba and Elizabeth Oaksmith of this city, was last week convicted, in the U. S. District Court at Boston, under an indictment charging him with fitting out the bark Margaret Scott as a slaver. Oaksmith appeared in Court, accompanied by his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Oaksmith, a little child three years of age, and a host of ladies, all appearing to take a deep interest in the prisoner. The evidence against the prisoner was overwhelming. A number of witnesses from New York were examined as experts, in reference to the fitting out of the vessel, and the peculiar manner of disguising the whole business, from the purchasing of the vessels to their destruction, after disposing of their human cargo. A number of ladies were called upon the stand as witnesses for the defense, but they all broke down in tears the moment their eyes lighted upon the prisoner. During the trial they wept copiously, and their beautiful cambric handkerchiefs were used extensively.

Mr. Sawyer, counsel for the prisoner, did his best for his client, endeavored to throw discredit upon the witnesses for the prosecution, and wound up his defense with an appeal to the jury for merciful consideration. He was followed by the U. S. District-Attorney, R. H. Dana, who presented an able and straightforward argument, briefly reviewing the evidence, and marking out the important statements pointing unmistakably to the prisoner as the guilty party.

Judge Clifford charged the Jury, telling them that the crime with which the prisoner was charged was one of more malignant character than that against the captain in actual command of a slaver, while at the same time the law did not set it down as a capital offence. The crime consisted of instigating others to engage in the unholy traffic, furnishing means for the voyage, procuring of the freight, and providing the general plans for the expedition. The case was then given to the jury on Friday and they retired to deliberate.

On Saturday the jury rendered a verdict of guilty against the prisoner, and he was remanded for sentence.

The punishment for the crime of fitting out a slaver is five years confinement in the State Prison, and a fine of $5,000, or in default of payment of said fine, one year's imprisonment for each $1,000.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, who lately returned from a visit to the sick and wounded soldiers at Washington, Yorktown, and White House, recounted to a large audience in the City Hall of Syracuse, last Saturday evening, the interesting story of his journey. It was his privilege to comfort many of the sufferers by ministering to their wants with his own hand, giving them food and drink, bathing their wounds, and in many ways showing them kindness. He testified in eloquent terms to their heroic patience under great physical pain; reporting several instances of soldiers who, though badly wounded, insisted that the surgeon should first go to the help of comrades worse maimed than themselves. He says that the articles principally needed in the hospitals are colored flannel shirts, cotton drawers, large-sized cotton socks, and cloth slippers with leather soles; and more than all, concentrated milk, portable soup, sherry and claret wines, jellies, dried fruits, and any kind of light food usually needed in the sick room.

We regret to learn that Mr. May was compelled to shorten his remarks by reason of sudden illness while speaking.

The Syracuse *Courier*, in reporting the address, which melted the hearts of all listeners, could not help flinging a stone at the speaker. It charges upon Mr. May that he and his political friends, and no one else, have brought upon the country the burden and misery of the war. It then adds the following, as convincing proof:

"Has this eloquent divine any conception of the amount of treason, irreligion, infidelity and corruption flowing out of such publications as form the aliment of his daily reading and one of which might have been seen in his hat while delivering his discourse at the City Hall on Saturday evening? *"

The asterisk points to an explanatory foot-note as follows:

"* The Reverend gentleman's hat contained a copy of the N. Y. *Tribune!*"

We know of a clergyman who never buys a Democratic newspaper while travelling in the cars; "for," says he, "if there should be a railroad accident, and I should die with *that* in my pocket, think of the disgrace to my family!" We are glad to know that Mr. May, during his sudden indisposition, had the satisfaction of reflecting that he had something better in his hat than the Syracuse *Courier*.

AN ACCIDENT TO WENDELL PHILLIPS.

WE find in *The Evangelist* of this city a letter from a Boston correspondent, in which the following allusion is made to Wendell Phillips:

"We went with a mixed multitude to the gathering of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Whatever might be said of any other meeting of the week, there was no lack of life and point here. Universal emancipation as advocated by Sumner, and attempted by Hunter, was the key-note. For an hour's waiting in the crowd and heat, we were amply rewarded by the splendid oratory of Wendell Phillips.

'When he speaks, what elocution flows,
Soft as the fleeces of descending snows.'

Simple, natural, yet elegant in all his movements, calm confident, terse, vivid, dramatic, a master of the '*art of putting things*,' he charms all his hearers. With much that was true and pertinent, there was less of the ultra and personal and bitter in what he said than on other occasions. What power would such a man wield were he thoroughly imbued with evangelical truth! *What a preacher has been lost in him to the Church and the world!*"

We mingle our sympathies with this writer, in deploring the sad accident by which Wendell Phillips was lost to the Church. Burke said of Chatham, "His name keeps the name of this country respectable in every other." Wendell Phillips, by lending his name to the Church, might have kept the Church respectable before the world. It was, therefore, a sad misfortune to the Church that Mr. Phillips was suffered to escape the laying on of hands. Fancy our eloquent orator caught and imprisoned in gown and bands! Fancy him rising in the Fulton street prayer-meeting, and making a meek obeisance to the sign on the wall, "No controverted topics permitted!" Fancy him coming down as a country parson once a year to New York solemnly to pay his subscription to *The Observer!* Fancy him visiting his native city of Boston for an exchange of pulpits with his dear brother in Divinity, Nehemiah Adams! Fancy him receiving parish donation-visits, and making those graceful gestures in acknowledgment of the receipt of a patch-work bed-quilt! Fancy how eagerly the young folks would flock to him to be married, and have the next week's *Evangelist* record, in small type—"By the Rev. Wendell Phillips, D.D." O Wendell Phillips! Five generations of clerical ancestors have bequeathed to you a white cravat! What a pity you do not wear it!

FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

YEARLY MEETING AT WATERLOO.

ROCHESTER, June 6, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

A WORD touching the Fourteenth Yearly Meeting at Waterloo, just closed. This annual gathering seems to grow in value and interest, as well as in numbers. Opening Friday morning, May 30th, and closing Sunday at 5 p.m., the three days were well occupied by an audience of thoughtful men and women.

PHILIP D. MOORE served as Chairman, G. B. STEBBINS and PHEBE B. DEAN as Secretaries; and a Business Committee consisting of C. D. B. Mills, Frederick Douglass, Catharine A. F. Stebbins, Seymour Reed, Lucy N. Coleman, Israel Lisk, and Rhoda De Garmo prepared resolves and planned the general conduct of the meeting. For the first two days, the war in its relations to slavery and its influence on the nation's life and character, filled a large share of time and thought. Its issues are so present and vital, its relations so wide, its dangers so imminent, as, for the time, to take precedence of other subjects, even those of value and moment.

Resolves were offered and discussed, an interesting correspondence from absent friends claimed attention, a Memorial to Congress on Emancipation was adopted with hearty unity, and the addresses fixed and held most earnest attention.

The pic-nics at noon, under the shade of tall trees in the yard, gave rest and social life, and the abundant hospitality of the houses in the vicinity added much to the enjoyment of the occasion.

On Sunday, a rain kept away the throng that usually fill the yard, but all space in the house—floor, galleries, stairs, etc., was filled. The order of business was laid aside, and each speaker uttered his or her thought as "the spirit moved."

Several valuable addresses on true religious freedom and spiritual culture and growth found good listeners. Mrs. Choate, of Auburn, read a valuable paper on Physical Education, and, at 5 p.m., after a short but excellent speech from Frederick Douglass on "What shall we do with the black man?" the meeting closed by singing the "John Brown song."

George Tryor, C. D. B. Mills, Benjamin Fish, F. Douglass, Wm. Denton, E. Andrews, E. Wheeler, Lucy N. Coleman, P. D. Moore, G. B. Stebbins, J. H. W. Toohey, and others, took public part.

The Resolves, etc., I send you herewith, and this brief word will assure those interested of the life and success of the meeting, and of the spirit of freedom that is nobly manifest therein.

The next Yearly Meeting will open Friday, June 5th, 1863. Yours truly, G. B. STEBBINS.

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at the Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, at Waterloo, N. Y.

1. Resolved, That the principles which, as Friends of Progress, we inscribe on our banner—the peerless worth, transcendent majesty, and vital, all-sovereign authority of the Truths of the Soul, the laws of Reason, the ordinances of Verity and Justice, the requirements of Virtue, the superlative claims of character—far enough from being cold, lifeless or barren abstractions, recondite and well nigh inaccessible, buried away in abysses of dim and dubious speculation, are warm and living realities, all fruitful, radiant with light, patent to the earliest thought of man, more evident and certain than all else beside, the primal scripture, oldest and completest bible, lamp for the feet through all the labyrinths of time, succor and solace to the soul, talisman of accomplishment, and standard evermore of all effective doing and success.

2. Resolved, That these truths, always pertinent and apposite, always full of vital bearings, and charged with most benign guidance and blessing for men, under whatever circumstances and in every age, are especially pertinent and vital and pregnant here and now, in the circumstances of this hour, and the exigencies upon which our nation is to-day cast, and require therefore to be proclaimed and urged home upon the attention of the people with an emphasis, directness and force of application correspondent to the formidable and felt perils of the position.

3. Resolved, That the importance of the Truths, the fatally ruinous consequence, amid whatever attentions to other matters, of their neglect or denial, has very signal and painfully near illustration in the attitude of our nation at this hour, a nation and government murderously assailed of rebellion, involved in perils the most direct and fearful, compelled to struggle at immense expenditure of blood and treasure for the maintenance of its existence, held trembling day after day and month after month on the very brink of ruin, yet undaring to speak itself delivered and free by uttering the word *Liberty*, held spell bound and prostrate by incantation of parchment Constitution and statute Enactment, as before all Truth, all Justice, and even the national Life itself, juggle even in the midst of its rebellion and fierce exterminating onslaught, of supposed inviolate rights of slavery.

4. Resolved, That while we hail more than willingly whatever bright and hopeful signs the time affords—evidence of increasing sobriety on the part of considerable numbers up and down through the land—awakened attention, under the recent startling events in our history, to the inherent nature of slavery, growing recognition of its essential character as crime and atrocity, conviction that it must and determination that it shall, at any hazard, be extinguished—indications of disposition of manly and humane attitude on the part of some of the Commanding Generals in their relations to the negro—beneficent act of emancipation by the General government throughout the Federal District—and remaining hopeful still that, through the events of this terrible war, liberty for the slave shall yet be wrung from this unwilling nation, we yet remember that our relations are primarily and most of all to simple Truth and Justice; that never, in the sphere of human conduct, are we to sit supinely waiting what the providential issues may bring; and so we still bear our testimony for the slave, and call upon this nation and government, now as never before responsible for slavery, now as never before imperilled and involved by its continuance, instantly to wipe out the guilty curse—to wash its hands of the blood of the crushed millions, and penitently bid them, in God's name, be free.

5. Resolved, That, for a government to affiliate with oppression, to extend recognition, fellowship and protection to slavery, is at the outset to make itself the accomplice of treason, partner with rebellion—to break up and annihilate all true grounds of distinction between loyalty and justice and their opposites—to put itself exposed perpetually to factional revolt like the present wide spread and violent, and tie its hands forever while in that attitude against possibility of effectual resistance and repression.

6. Resolved, That the attempts still widely and in official quarters avowed and persisted in, to reëstablish on its old basis the Union—basis of fellowship and guaranty to slavery—is the attempt to repeat, and under circumstances aggravating ten-fold its infatuation and its guilt, the old mistake, and intrinsically wrong and a crime as it is, pronounced by late events in our history to be from this time forward an utter futility; the only Union henceforth possible, or even desirable, or even worthy of toleration, the Union of Freemen for the maintenance of Justice and Freedom.

7. Resolved, That with indignation and shame we witness the renewal and prosecution with unwonted rigor of slave-hunting in the midst of the Federal Capital; and, mortifying and humiliating as is the admission, we are yet compelled to believe that even now the government and nation has not suffered enough at the hands of the rebellion to be divorced and emancipated from its terrible idolatry of slavery, and insane and criminal hope of still propitiating the monster, or at least regaining its indulgence and tolerant favor.

8. Resolved, That we hail the proclamation of David Hunter, declaring emancipation to the slaves throughout the limits of his military district, with gratulation and joy—a proclamation worthy to be made, honorable to his judgment as a Commander, to his qualities of heart as a man; and we can only here testify our sorrow and indignation that the Executive head of the nation should show himself so signally unfaithful to humanity, so lacking in just comprehension of the crisis, so subject to the influence of detestable Border State dictation, as to interpose with his disavowal, and rescind the operation of this benign proclamation.

9. Resolved, That in the desolating war now raging in our country, we recognize a just retribution, visited on the people as the sure and awful result of their oppression of a race subjugated by our fathers, and attemptedly made menial, not only by governmental statutes, but by social restrictions fed and nourished by unnatural teachings that the negro is not an equal man and brother, alike eligible to place and position, not only by and for himself, but *with* and *for* us.

10. Resolved, That the time has gone by for a people professing progress to set bounds which any of the human family are forbidden to pass, because of the color of skin, the texture of hair, or the form of features; and that it becomes the emphatic duty of every reformer who has learned the first letter in the alphabet of Justice, to insist upon the entire emancipation of this oppressed people from all invidious restrictions, either social, religious or political.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The "Friends of Human Progress," assembled in their Yearly Meeting, at Junius, near Waterloo, Seneca County, New York, in view of the unhappy condition of our country, scourged by a terrible civil war, respectfully and earnestly offer their views and deliberate judgment as to the cause of this war, and the means whereby it may and ought to be brought to a close.

SLAVERY IS ITS CAUSE. This nation is but illustrating anew the lesson that History teaches that slavery is always the element of danger in the State;—and this in the nature of things, since permanent Peace, Union and Order are impossible, save through wise obedience to those Divine Laws of Justice, Freedom and Fraternity which slavery repudiates.

Slaveholders plotted this rebellion. Slaveholders opened this war, and lead in its conduct with desperate malignity. By an evil necessity inherent in the system they uphold, *it must either rule or ruin;* hence this foul rebellion.

Our sons and brothers and loved ones have gone forth freely in our country's defence, and we are grieved and heart-sick to see them the victims and sufferers in the guilty waste of precious life, and the gratuitous exposure to exhausting labors and fatigues, results of a weak tenderness toward slavery in the conduct of this war on the part of the government.

It is shameful that a wicked prejudice, created and fostered by slavery, and which rebel slaveholders now rejoice to find their ally, prevents the acceptance of the proffered aid of the negro, and flings all the burthen and peril of the war on the Northern soldier.

It is folly without parallel to refuse the help of the *only friends* the government has in large portions of the South. It is base ingratitude to drive back those friends into cruel hands.

In the presence of national law, and of the necessities of war, *rebels have no rights*. The first gun fired against Fort Sumter shattered the fetters from the limbs of every slave in the rebel States, under the same principle by which that base act made all its perpetrators and abettors outlaws.

No legal or constitutional barrier stands in the way.

As to the few loyal slave-owners in the Border States, if they be *truly* loyal they will share any sacrifice to which the ending of slavery may subject them as their ready offering for their country's safety—especially when, in the light of a few years of freedom, the sacrifice will be found more seeming than real, and when government stands ready to make them such compensation as may be its share of indemnity for a common complicity with the slave system.

Under the war power there is ample authority for the total ending of slavery, so necessary to the safety, even the very existence of our nation.

We wish Peace, but it is only possible with Freedom—broad and impartial, *as the right of all, irrespective of race.*

We wish safety and a high future for our country, imperilled by the wickedness it has nursed and nurtured in its midst.

We therefore ask that in this crisis you will use your abundant powers to *decree the emancipation of every slave*, with a high faith that Divine Wisdom has so ordered that it is always safe to do right.

In behalf of the Meeting, as its earnest and unanimous expression. PHILIP D. MOORE, Chairman.

G. B. STEBBINS, }
PHEBE B. DEAN, } Secretaries.

Waterloo, New York, May 31, 1862.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 16, 1862.

WILL the next Congress be Republican? This is a very important question, and the Republican members of Congress are somewhat anxious about it—and well they may be. The House is gradually filling up with slave State men. In the Senate the admission of Senators Willey and Carlile from *the State of Virginia* commits that body to the principle of permitting a part of a State to represent the whole. The admission in the House of Dr. Segar to represent the Fortress Monroe Congressional district of Virginia settles the principle of allowing detached districts to be represented there. Doubtless we shall soon have Norfolk, New Orleans, all of Tennessee, a good deal more of Virginia, and a part of North Carolina coming up to the House of Representatives demanding representation. Should the entire South come back and be represented, of course the Republicans instantly fall into a minority, but if only a portion of the rebellious States apply for readmission, the Republicans will still be in the majority.

It is quite possible that many of the Union members of Congress from the Border slave States will act with the Republicans rather than with the Democrats. There are several of such men now in Congress from slave States. Noell of Missouri, Fisher of Delaware, Clemens of Tennessee, and one or two of the Western Virginia members are among them. They are all, I believe, in favor of the President's scheme of compensated emancipation. This class of Southern Representatives will probably increase—it is certainly to be hoped that it will. If it does not, the Republicans will lose their control of Congress—provided that the rebellion is put down.

It has at last become evident that the Administration is resolved upon leaving the slavery question to take care of itself; or in other words, will leave it to future events. He who has any expectation that Congress or the President will abolish slavery in the States, at present, is exceedingly sanguine and simple. There is no such intention in Congress or Cabinet. Nor is it easy to see how slavery can be attacked by Congress if the President be not favorable to such a policy. The present purpose of the Administration is to observe the current of events closely, and if the rebels are beaten in the field and eventually succumb, nothing further will be done against slavery in the States. But in the event of foreign intervention, or of a bitter, protracted war, the President may adopt an emancipation-war policy, which he will enforce upon his Generals.

At the present time Mr. Lincoln has no particular policy. This scrap, which I cut from an editorial in *The Tribune*, illustrates my statement admirably.

Opening two of our city journals yesterday, our attention was arrested by the following paragraphs:

"CHICAGO, June 10, 1862.

"A special dispatch from Memphis, dated the 8th, says: "It has been decided by the Union authorities not to allow runaway negroes to come into our lines under any circumstances, and that they have no control over them outside the lines."

"Just before closing, Mr. Colyer said he had seen the President, and spoke as follows: 'The President said that the idea of closing the schools, and sending back fugitive slaves, and searching vessels going North, never had emanated from his Administration. *Such an order never had been given by him, nor would it be tolerated by him or his Administration. He said more than that. He said no fugitive slave who came within the lines of the United States army should ever be returned to his master.*'"

—If Policy and Honesty be not irreconcilable foes, it does seem to us that the time for open, manly, straightforward dealing with this contraband question has fully arrived. We are not here insisting that any particular course should be taken by the government, but simply that it should *take* a course, proclaim it, and require its subordinates to conform to it.

It is true—the above—and while the President may say very comforting things to Mr. Colyer or to Dr. Tyng, he also says a good word to Mr. Holt and Mr. Wickliffe. Reconcile the above-stated facts, if any one can. "No slave shall come into my lines and be returned!" says Mr. Lincoln. The very next day twenty of these slaves come into camp at Memphis, at Corinth, or somewhere else, and are sent back to disloyal masters. Yet the President does not interfere. It is just as *The Tribune* says. We lack in *manliness*. We are likely to win the hatred of the slaves and the contempt of the slaveholders. Beyond all that, every humane and intelligent European will soon be against us and our course if we go on at this rate. There is nothing left, however, but to wait for the developments of the next few months. Should Gen. McClellan take Richmond and really succeed in crushing the rebellion before September, there would be an end of all attempts to legislate against slavery in the States, or to overthrow it with the army of the United States.

The best thing the government has yet done in this city was done on Saturday last. It took possession of three aristocratic Episcopal churches *for hospitals!* The three churches—the Trinity, the Epiphany, and the Ascension—were the most aristocratic and naturally the most rebellious Churches in the city. Their pastors have refused to read prayers for the President and the success of our armies. Dr. Hall of Epiphany has, I believe, read the usual Sunday prayers for the President, but when remonstrated with by his rebel hearers, he has replied: "Paul did not refuse to pray for the Roman Emperor Nero." It was high time that something was done, for the rebels in Washington and Georgetown were growing more and more impudent each day. The most infamous falsehoods have been told to bolster up the rebellion. Every Union success has been depreciated, every rebel triumph has been exaggerated. These fellows have got so fearless that they have openly expressed their delight at rebel victories and government defeats. Jackson is a hero with them. They toast him—praise him everywhere, and then retire on Sundays to the churches above mentioned to secretly give thanks for the continued successful defense of Richmond. *The Republican* of this city says a good thing of these churches:

"A large number of the frequenters of these churches are secessionists. Their parsons—Dr. Hall, of Epiphany, Rev. Mr. Pinckney, of Ascension, and Rev. Mr. Syle, of Trinity—declined to read the prayer of thanksgiving some time since ordered by Bishop Whittingham for the success of our arms. These are the aristocratic and fashionable churches of Washington—or were in the days when the prodigal children of secession found it pleasant to dwell in these borders. In default of numbers of communicants, and of patriotism in the pastors probably, the government have devoted these edifices to hygienic purposes. The meek and lowly children of the Son of man—the pastors who have heretofore officiated in them—will probably go on being useful, and, by the way of consolation, will remember that their Divine Master at times had not where to lay his head."

I can easily imagine the wrath of some of the wealthy communicants upon reading this extract. I hear that the pastors are so angry that they hardly know what to do. It is a great pity they do not betake themselves to Richmond. Syle, the pastor of Trinity Church, is engaged to marry a Southern widow of wealth, who has two sons in the rebel army. His secessionism is easily accounted for. The others are influenced to treasonable conduct by different reasons.

Some of the Northern soldiers who come down here are inclined to show that they have not yet got rid of their colorphobia. A volunteer regiment was placed in the northern part of the city, in the outskirts of the town, where there are a good many small houses filled with colored people. They have suffered much from the negro-hating spirit manifested by these white soldiers. A small party of young colored people started off into the country for a pic-nic, some days ago, when they were attacked by a portion of the volunteer regiment alluded to, made to give up their eatables, and one of the party was so severely stabbed that he has since died. I am sorry to say that there are Northern troops so base that when they come here they seem to have a strong desire to convince Southern people in this vicinity that they are pro-slavery and dislike the colored man as intensely as any slave-owner. The most of our troops soon become anti-slavery—especially if they have any fighting to do with the slaveholders. But many of the army officers are incorrigible—regulars and volunteers. I heard one of our volunteer Majors talking with a Southern member of Congress two or three days ago. "It is a sad war," said he, "and for my part it is very hard to meet my brothers on the field of battle. I would avoid it if I could, but when they attack us we must kill to save our own lives. I am, however, for conciliation and kindness!" It is that stuff which has paralyzed the government. It has gained nothing by its victories because it lacks vigor. McClellan is busy guarding the houses of rebels on the peninsula. McDowell turns Doubleday out of the house of a rebel leader. McClellan, Halleck, McDowell and all the others are about alike, save Fremont, and he will doubtless be overruled if there is any danger of his hurting anybody, except on the field of battle. Depend upon it, that orders issue from some place in this city respecting *this* question. There is uniformity here, however it may be on the slavery question. Slaveholders can be treated kindly, no matter how it may be with the slaves.

I notice that in a published letter of Mr. Sumner's, he says, speaking of the President: "I am happy to let you know that he has no sympathy with Stanly in his absurd wickedness, closing the schools, nor again in his other act of turning our camps into a hunting-ground for slaves. He repudiates both positively. * * * I have often heard from his own lips that slaves finding their way within the national lines *are never to be reënslaved.*" The italics are mine. I put with it the following paragraph from a Memphis letter:

"A merchant who happened to be in the Provost-Marshal's office yesterday, heard a conversation between that officer and a slave-owner, which may serve a good purpose to communicate. The slaveholder had lost some slaves, and came to know whether, if they should come to Memphis, he would be permitted to recover them. The Marshal's reply was substantially this: That they did not allow runaway negroes to come into their lines under any circumstances, and that they had no power over them outside their lines. The slaveholder went away satisfied that his negroes were in no danger."

Will the President compel his officer, the Provost-Marshal, to reconsider his position? I presume not. Mr. Sumner has eloquently called the attention of the country to Gen. Halleck's conduct towards "contraband's," but has any one ever heard of Presidential interference with Halleck? AVON.

PERSONAL.

Hon. Benjamin F. Whidden, recently appointed Consul-General to Hayti, is a native of Lancaster, N. H., and a lawyer by profession. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1840, and is now about 45 years of age.

Hon. E. D. Culver of this city has been appointed U. S. Minister to Venezuela. An effort is being made to transfer him to Hayti, and send Mr. Whidden to Venezuela in his stead.

FEARS OF INSURRECTION.—A letter from Memphis to *The Tribune*, under date June 14, says: "There is much alarm among the whites of Crittenden County, Arkansas, opposite this city, in consequence of the discovery of a design on the part of several hundred of the negroes of that County to simultaneously run away and present themselves to the Union commander for protection. There are about four thousand negroes in the County, and only a few hundred whites, some of whom are coming here, not deeming it safe to remain among the negroes."

ANTI-TOBACCO JOURNAL—a quarterly periodical, by George Trask, Fitchburg, Mass. The number before us contains a great variety of articles, under the following titles: Reasons for Publishing this Journal; Memoranda of my War on Tobacco; Our Conductor from Fitchburg to Boston, with a Rose between his lips; The Wife's Appeal to her Husband; Annual Report of the American Anti-Tobacco Society; The Indian's Revenge; Tobacco Raised in Massachusetts in 1861; Tracts for the Army and Navy. The price of this periodical is $1 a year.

DEATH OF MR. BUCKLE.—Henry Thomas Buckle, author of the famous "History of Civilization," died at Damascus on the 31st of May. He has fallen in the prime of life, at the age of forty, leaving his great work unfinished, as Macaulay left his History.

OBITUARY.

DIED, of typhoid fever, on the 7th of Fourth month, 1862, LETITIA H. CANBY, at the residence of her parents, Joshua and Esther Canby, near Mount Pleasant, Henry Co., Iowa.

Our beloved friend, who has just passed the portals of the life beyond, was in her 24th year. She was a young woman of rare endowments. A lover of the beautiful in nature, gifted with fine talents, combined with large moral sentiments, she entertained enlarged and liberal views. She was especially interested in the enfranchisement of the oppressed slaves in our land. She was a light in the family band, and beloved by a circle of acquaintances who will mourn her early exit. She was a member of Prairie Grove Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends. On the occasion of her interment on the 9th inst., a large and impressive religious meeting was held.

"Spirit, thy labor is o'er;
Thy work of probation is done;
Thy feet are now bound for the untrodden shore,
And the life of immortals begun." J. A. D.

Proceedings of Congress.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

THE Senate, on the 11th, postponed (yeas 24, nays 11) the bill amending the Fugitive Slave law, to take up the Pacific Railroad bill.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

On the 12th, Mr. Wilson introduced in the Senate a bill, supplemental to the act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, and designed to remedy some defects therein.

THE SLAVE TRADE TREATY.

In the Senate on the 13th, Mr. Sumner (Rep.) of Mass., from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported a bill to carry into effect the treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade. The bill provides for the appointment of United States officers at mixed courts at New York, Sierra Leone and Cape of Good Hope, each of the three Judges to receive $2,500 per annum; also, for the arbitrator at New York to receive $1,000 per annum and the others $2,000 each; also, for the clerk of the Court at New York to receive the fees pertaining to the office.

A SUSPECTED MEMBER.

In the House on the 11th, on motion of Mr. Bingham of Ohio, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas, Information has been received by the government that Hon. Bejamin Wood, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York, and a member of this House, has been engaged in communicating or attempting to communicate important intelligence to the Confederate rebels in arms against the government of the United States, be it therefore

Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary inquire into the alleged conduct of the said Benjamin Wood in the premises, and to that end the said Committee be authorized to send for persons and papers, and examine witnesses under oath, and report to the House.

OATH TO GRAND AND PETIT JURORS.

In the House on the 13th, the Senate bill prescribing an additional oath to be taken by grand and petit jurors serving in the United States Courts, to the effect that they have been true and faithful to the Constitution, have not taken up arms or counselled or advised any person to take up arms, or rendered any assistance, aid or comfort to any State or States in revolt against the government, etc., was passed.

THE NORTH CAROLINA REPRESENTATIVE.

In the House on the 16th, Mr. Dawes, from the Committee on Elections, made an adverse report on the petition of Charles Henry Foster, asking admission to a seat as Representative from the IId District of North Carolina.

REBEL PRISONERS.

In the House on the 16th, Mr. Wilson (Rep., Iowa) caused to be read an extract from a letter in the New York *Tribune*, dated Port Royal, stating that the rebel prisoners are better treated than our own soldiers, and detailing instances of cruel neglect, etc., and offered a resolution to inquire into the facts, and also to furnish the name of the General commanding the troops there. Adopted.

GUARDING THE PROPERTY OF REBELS.

In the House on the 16th, Mr. Potter (Rep., Wisconsin) offered a resolution requesting the Secretary of War to inform the House by whose orders the house of a rebel leader at White House Point is guarded and protected by United States soldiers, and withheld from hospital purposes.

Mr. Dunn (Rep., Ind.) stated, as of his own knowledge, that the house in question was quite small. It is the place where Washington first met his wife, where he courted and married her. The property is now owned, he (Dunn) believed, by a grandson of Mrs. Washington, the son of Gen. Lee. Out of a delicate regard for the memory of Washington, which he (Dunn) was sure the country would appreciate, Gen. McClellan placed a guard around the house to protect it and the yard from injury.

Mr. Potter inquired—Do you not know a guard was placed there at the request of Mrs. Lee for its protection?

Mr. Dunn replied that he did not. It was a very inviting place for the General's headquarters, but he would not use it, and had his tents pitched out in the plowed ground, and in the hot sun. He did not oppose the resolution, but thought proper to make this statement.

Mr. Potter said there was an excellent spring on the premises, which was refused to our soldiers, who had to drink the water of the Pamunkey River. The proceedings in this matter were a mere continuation of a conciliatory policy toward unthankful rebels, including Gen. Lee, who was responsible for the death wounds inflicted upon our soldiers. It was a burning disgrace to government, and the House should take action upon the subject.

Mr. Sedgwick (Rep., N. Y.) had visited the place. The house was built within the last ten or fifteen years—a great many years since Washington was gathered to his fathers. The land is high and admirably adapted to hospital purposes. There are seven outbuildings in good condition, and he has been informed by several persons connected with the service that the houses were capable of accommodating 450 to 500 men. He believed if Washington were alive he would not be influenced by any such sentimentality as that they should not be used for sick and wounded soldiers of the Union, for the establishment of which Washington suffered and contributed so much. On the Secretary of War telegraphing that the houses should be used for hospitals, some one of McClellan's army—he hoped it was not McClellan himself—replied that those who urged the request were enemies of the war and of the country.

Mr. Dawes (Rep., Mass.) testified as to the facts stated by Mr. Sedgwick. He was there himself, and, together with a colleague, was prevented from passing over the grounds in order to reach the steamboat. He was confronted by a bayonet, and informed that there were positive orders to prevent anybody from trespassing on the premises. He was also told that a captain was the day before put under arrest for allowing persons to cross the grounds.

The resolution passed.

CHARGE AGAINST GEN. BANKS.

In the House on the 16th, Mr. Voorhees (Rep., Ind.) offered as a preamble a statement from the New Albany *Ledger*, in which it is said that during the recent retreat Gen. Banks furnished government transportation for negroes, thus caring for them to the exclusion and neglect of our wounded soldiers, who had to walk. Appended to this was a resolution instructing the Committee on the Conduct of the War to inquire into and report the facts.

Mr. Richardson (Dem., Ill.) said he had heard the same charges made by soldiers.

The resolution was adopted.

An unsuccessful motion was made to lay the preamble on the table, the consideration of which went over.

The Tribune's correspondent says: "Mr. Voorhees's resolution is believed to be founded upon an utter falsehood, and was voted for by many who wished to see it exposed."

EMPLOYMENT OF SLAVES.

In the Senate on the 16th, the Naval Appropriation bill was taken up, the question being on the Senate concurring in the amendment offered by Mr. Wilson (Mass.), that no persons held to service or labor, called slaves, shall be employed in the Navy-yards, dock-yards, etc., which was rejected by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Foot, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, King, Lane (Ind.), Lane (Kansas), Morrill, Pomeroy, Sumner, Trumbull, Wilmot, Wilson (Mass.), Wright—17.

Nays—Messrs. Anthony, Browning, Chandler, Davis, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foster, Henderson, Howard, Howe, Latham, McDougall, Powell, Saulsbury, Stark, Ten Eyck, Willey, Wilson (Mo.)—18.

FREEDOM IN THE TERRITORIES.

Our readers will find in another column the admirable act which has passed both Houses of Congress, forever prohibiting slavery in all the territories of the Union.

THE EMANCIPATION BILL.

The bill emancipating the slaves of traitors has passed the House. See another column.

NOTICE.—Members of the American, Pennsylvania, Western, or Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, contributing annually to the funds of either of these Societies, can receive a copy of the last very valuable Report of the American Society, entitled, *The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year*, by sending a request to that effect to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 221 Washington street, Boston, and enclosing stamps sufficient to prepay the postage, viz., *fourteen cents.*

Chronicles of the War.

Valley of the Shenandoah.

All evidence tends to prove that the defeat of Jackson by Gen. Fremont, on Sunday, the 8th inst., was a very severe one. Jackson left his dead and a great part of his wounded on the field on his retreat on the night after the battle. Not less than five hundred dead were found, and two of their guns were left behind, which were taken possession of by our forces. Jackson, it appears, had moved his waggon train across the river at Port Republic on Friday, and returned and gave battle six miles north of there, on the Harrisonburg pike, on Sunday, as before reported. When Jackson retreated our forces pursued, but before the enemy could be overtaken, he crossed the river, burning the bridge that carried him over. A portion of Shields's Division, under Col. Carroll, appeared on the opposite side of the river on Sunday, but, instead of burning the bridge, planted the artillery so as to command it. When Jackson appeared, Col. Carroll, having only a portion of his troops at hand, was repulsed, the enemy took possession of the bridge, and escaped. The Union loss was sufficiently heavy, amounting to nearly five hundred killed and wounded, exclusive of the missing. Stahl's Brigade lost four hundred and five privates *and twenty two officers*, killed, wounded and missing. The rebel loss in killed alone was six hundred.

It is now believed that after this fight Jackson took the road towards Stannardsville, on the other side of the Blue Ridge, with a view to reaching Gordonsville, at which point there is railroad communication with Richmond.

The Advance on Richmond.

Richmond is still in rebel possession, and the intensest anxiety is felt for the result of the battle which is every day expected to occur. On Saturday night, telegrams announced extensive movements on the part of the enemy's forces, the meaning of which was involved in mystery. Large bodies of men had been moved down from the neighborhood of Mechanicsville Bridge and Richmond, and were apparently being concentrated in the vicinity of the late battle-field. Our pickets, on Friday, were driven in from Old Church by a large force of rebel cavalry, and on the same day the rebels made a demonstration on the right flank of our army at Tunstall's Station, apparently with the intention of interrupting our railroad communication. They were forced to retreat, however, without effecting their object. The two armies are face to face in such close proximity that it seems impossible long to avoid a collision.

It appears that after driving a force of our cavalry from Old Church, as already mentioned, the rebels proceeded to Garlick's Landing, on the Pamunkey River, where they committed some depredations, and subsequently went to Tunstall's Station, four miles from White House, with a view to burning the railroad bridge. They did not succeed in this, however, and soon after retired across the Chickahominy, between Bottom's Bridge and the James River. An attempt was made at pursuit, but too late.

A letter from Gen. McClellan was received in Philadelphia, on Saturday, by a gentleman high in authority. In it the rebel loss at Fair Oaks was stated to be ten thousand. Through reliable sources of information, Gen. McClellan had learned that the wounded in Richmond now number seven thousand. Almost every house has its quota.

From South Carolina.

We have further rebel reports of the preliminary operation of our forces against Charleston. A dispatch from Augusta, Ga., dated the 12th, informs us that a sharp engagement took place on James Island, on Tuesday afternoon, which continued until dark, the occasion being an attack on our forces, to prevent them from occupying a certain piece of woods. The rebels put down their loss at from fifty to sixty men, principally Georgians, among whom is Col. Williams, of the Forty-sixth Georgia Regiment, mortally wounded.

The correspondence of the journals from Port Royal gives important details of the operations preceding the affair noted above, and of which we have had previous accounts through rebel channels. Our movements in the direction of Charleston are gradual, but sure, and in all the skirmishes which the rebels claim to have been successful in, our forces have gained decided advantages. One of our correspondents expresses the belief that the capture of Charleston will soon be a matter of history, though there is no doubt that the capture will be effected only after hard fighting.

The correspondent of *The Tribune* says: The educational and industrial affairs of the negroes of this vicinity are just now at a stand. Mr. Ed. L. Pierce, the special agent of the Treasury Department, returns to the North, and the Military Governor appointed for South Carolina having been unexpectedly assigned to Harper's Ferry, will cause, for a while, at least, a stagnation of the plantation system, improvised and successfully carried on by Mr. Pierce and his efficient coadjutors. There is no doubt of the wisdom of the appointment of such a man for the direction of this business, into whose composition the gentleman and the humanitarian enter, as well as the mere soldier. The problem has been fully demonstrated, that free labor can produce a cotton crop, and that the African is human. Mr. Pierce's work has been unusual, but well done. He now retires; and although not a soldier by nature, he has yet proved himself both humane and *civil*. Gen. Saxton is suddenly deflected to Harper's Ferry. We look for another, who shall, with extended powers, with more systematic arrangements, with as much of the Christian as soldier, carry on the grand work so auspiciously initiated.

Such a man is Hunter. And it seems the more appropriate that all such interests should be unconditionally placed in his hands, inasmuch as he is already in chief military command of the department in which all these plantations lie; and further, that the whole subject of planting has been surrendered by the Treasury to the War Department.

Probable Capture of Houston, Texas.

We learn from the Houston (Texas) *Telegraph* of the 23d ult. the important fact that, on the 17th inst., the United States Frigate Santee appeared off Galvaston and demanded the surrender of the city, the alternative being a bombardment, a sufficient land and naval force being at hand to ensure success. The foreign Consuls communicated with the commander of the Santee, with a view to having some part of the city assigned where the foreign residents might take refuge, but the commander, while deploring the misery likely to result from a bombardment, would give no assurance of security. There is little doubt that the city surrendered without waiting to be bombarded.

From New Orleans.

The New Orleans papers of May 29, have been received by way of Vicksburg and Memphis. They state that Hon. Pierre Soulé has been arrested on a high political charge, and that he was to be sent North. Col. N. A. M. Dudley, of the Thirtieth Massachusetts regiment, has been appointed Assistant Military Commandant of the city. It has been ordered that religious services be had in the different churches of the city as in times of profound peace, and no prayer for the destruction of the Union or for the success of the "rebels" will be tolerated. Gen. Butler had had an interview with the officers of the Southern Bank, and, after a full hearing, the bank was ordered to pay all its depositors, upon demand, in such money, and according to the provisions of General Order No. 30. The bells which were taken from the churches by the order of Beauregard had been shipped to New York in the ship North America, by order of Gen. Butler. *The Delta* wants them united in one casting, and placed on the roof of Faneuil Hall. Gen. Butler gives notice that the Chief of Subsistence will sell to families for consumption, in small quanties, pork, beef, hams and bacon, at seven cents, and ten cents for flour.

The Washington *Star*, of Saturday, has this paragraph: "The utterly false pretence of the Dutch Consul at New Orleans, that the money taken from his custody by order of Maj.-Gen. Butler ($800,000) was not the proceeds of the secesh robbery of the United States Mint, but Mexican dollars really belonging to Hope & Co., of Amsterdam, has been fairly exposed by microscopic examination of the coin itself, which shows underneath the impression of the Mexican die, perfect evidence that it was originally United States coin. It was restamped (in New Orleans) in order to prevent detection in case it should fall again within reach of Uncle Sam's clutches. The O, the distinctive mark of the United States dollar coinage by the New Orleans Mint, still remains visible with the microscope upon each of the aforesaid $800,000."

From the Southwest.

We record another battle and another victory for Gen. Mitchel, on the authority of a dispatch from Cairo to the President of the Chicago Sanitary Association. The affair is said to have taken place at Chattanooga, to have lasted through two days, and to have resulted in the complete rout of the rebel forces.

Gen. Halleck has sent dispatches to the War Department, dated the 12th inst., which represent Beauregard to have been at some point on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, with the remnant of his army, on Saturday last. Spies and deserters insist that the rebel army is greatly disorganized, and that mutinous and deserting regiments have been disarmed, and large numbers shot. Gen. Halleck cites the immense destruction of valuable stores and other property as a proof that the rebel retreat has been a hurried one. The whole country south of Corinth has been stripped of food, and many of the inhabitants are in a starving condition.

Advices from Memphis to the 12th inst. state that some of our gunboats and rams were about starting on a reconnoissance up White River, into Arkansas. A report was current that the rebels had burnt Vicksburg, but it was not generally credited.

The accounts from Memphis are very encouraging. Quiet pervades the entire city, and a ready submission is paid to the national rule—a pretty good indication that the inhabitants are rather pleased at the change in affairs. Cotton is beginning to come forward quite freely, and already, on the 10th inst., applications to ship six thousand bales had been received. Two more rebel steamers have been captured in the vicinity.

Important reports relative to the rebel army lately at Corinth reach us by way of Memphis. A gentleman lately arrived from Granada, Miss., states that Gen. Hindman, after the evacuation, went to Arkansas with the troops of that State. Gen. Pope had reached Okolona in pursuit of the main body of the rebels, which was still retreating.

A dispatch from Gen. Morgan to Gov. Johnson, dated at Lampkin, at the foot of Cumberland Mountain, says, that our scouts saw strong indications that the rebels were evacuating their fortifications at Cumberland Gap. The mountains had been fired at various points, and it is believed that the rebels designed retreating, as usual, under a cloud of smoke.

The ram flotilla, the new arm (or beak) of the navy, which rendered such signal service in the decisive action near Memphis, consists of eight craft. They are mostly steamers razeed and altered by covering their sides with two thicknesses of live oak timber, each being about eight inches thick. The prows are iron-plated and quite sharp. They have powerful engines, as may be seen from their crashing effect when they struck the rebel vessels. Instead of heavy guns, they carried numbers of sharpshooters, whose firing among the rebel gunners was very effective. Two of the rebel vessels were sunk outright by the shock of the rams.

Reënforcements have been sent to Gen. Dumont, in command at Nashville, to meet a demonstration which it is supposed the rebels are making against that city.

A battle took place in the Indian Territory on the 4th inst., in which the rebel forces were defeated, with the loss of their camp equipage, etc., together with a large number of beef cattle, mules and horses.

A dispatch from Cairo gives a rumor that Col. Morgan, of guerrilla notoriety, had been captured by Gen. Pope. The divisions of Gens. Sherman and Hurlbut left Corinth on the 11th, for Memphis, under orders to repair the railroad as they advanced.

Negroes and Rebels in Loudoun County.

The Secretary of War having received complaints that the jail of Loudoun County, Va., was being used for the detention of the slaves of rebels, and that the rebels of that County were actively coöperating with the authorities of the Confederate States, the matter was referred to Gen. Wadsworth as Commander of the Department. Col. Swain, of Scott's cavalry, was ordered with a detachment of his command to go to Leesburg. After a week's absence the command returned last evening. Colonel Swain had a general jail delivery of the negroes confined on rebel account, straightened up things generally, and brought Chief Justice Asa Rogers and Rev. E. H. Nourse as prisoners, they refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and being proved to be active in the rebel cause, the reverend gentleman acting as a kind of rebel post-bag. Leesburg proves to be a hot-bed of secession—the ladies of the place crossing the streets to avoid meeting the officers of the cavalry troop, the children singing "Dixie" in front of the quarters, and most of the stores were closed during the stay of the troops.

Rebel Threats of Assassination.

$10,000 FOR THE HEAD OF BUTLER.

To the Editor of The Mississippian:

As the modern Nero, the brutal, beastly and sanguinary savage, Gen. B. F. Butler, has, by virtue of his General Order No. 28, dated at New Orleans on the 15th of May, violated the principles of warfare, and, as he proposes to outrage the chastity of the women of the South, who, by the misfortunes of war, fall into his hands, it is our plain duty to rid our country and the world of the horrid, hideous monster, by any means that can be commanded. When a man turns to be an enemy of the human race, he forfeits his right to a habitation upon the face of the world, and he who relieves the world of such an unnatural creature is entitled to a monument in the memory of mankind.

Let there be a purse of $10,000 made up and offered for the head of this man Butler, or to any one who will take his life by any means whatsoever. If the person who kills him should lose his own life by doing so, let the money go to his heirs, or to whoever he may designate. I would suggest that this money be made up in sums of not less than $100. BRUTUS.

NO QUARTER TO PICAYUNE BUTLER.

From The Charleston Mercury.

Let this be the sworn resolve of every Southern man. The debased wretch and inhuman tyrant who has published his proclamation consigning to the horrid embraces of a bestial soldiery the mothers and daughters of a Southern city, which for the time is at his mercy, deserves not to be treated according to the laws of honorable warfare. If he is caught, hang him! If he keeps out of harm's reach, and ventures not upon the field of battle, let poison or the knife do its secret but deadly work. He has forfeited his life, in any manner in which it can be taken, to every man, woman and child in the Confederacy.

As God is our judge, says *The Mississippian*, we believe that the day of retribution is coming for the monster and the government which sustains him in his crimes.

ASSASSINATION OF THE INFAMOUS BUTLER.

From The Mississippian.

For a day or two past we have "heard upon the breeze" a report that the monster who has so outraged the moral sentiment of mankind by his proclamations and orders, has been sent "where the wicked cease from troubling." We fear the report has no foundation in fact. Perhaps the wish was father to the thought.

It would be retributive justice, not revenge, which would consign him to the gulf of black despair—"deep as his will for others would create." The most pious heart might, without irreverence, ejaculate the prayer, "Cancel his bond of life, great God, I pray, that I may live to say the dog is dead."

What a happy day it will be for the South when, like Miriam, we can celebrate the deliverance of our country from the cruel oppression of a race, of whose moral sentiments and feelings the blue-eyed slanderer of female chastity and purity is a fit type and representation. When that day arrives the only drop of bitterness which will weigh in our cup of joy will be the reflection that we speak a common language and spring from a common lineage.

From The New Orleans Delta.

NEW ORLEANS, Monday, May 19, 1862.

Major-Gen. Butler, New Orleans:

* * * * * * *

I am the wife of a foreign subject, who has sworn that if, during the continuance of your command of the Yankee troops in this city, I am insulted or annoyed in the manner set forth in your order, he will have your life—may be not for a day, a week, a month or a year after the indignity has been offered, and perhaps not here, but none the less surely will his vengeance follow you wherever you may go. Neither the war of the Colonies for independence, nor the war of 1812 with Great Britain, furnishes a parallel to your brutality, and were it not that the city contains not a single native-born Southerner or naturalized foreigner who has the least spark of manhood left, your career would soon be cut short; but amongst the unnaturalized foreigners there is spirit enough to resent the least attempt to interfere with their rights. All true and brave men, whose duty it is, are off fighting for Southern independence.

Your acts, and that of the majority of your officers, during the time you have been here, show that neither you nor they are worthy of the countenance of any woman who has the least respect for herself; and I shall, notwithstanding your order, make no effort to restrain the involuntary loathing and contempt I feel towards Yankees, but will gladly go miles out of my way to avoid seeing any of you.

As for you, individually, had you come amongst us as a friend, instead of an enemy, it would not have changed our opinion of you, for your villany is too apparent in your face to have deceived any one of ordinary discrimination. You would pass well for an offshoot of that squinting arch-fiend, James Gordon Bennett.

Should you be curious to know my name (and I would not have addressed you anonymously, but for you and your hated government having deprived even a poor helpless woman of free speech) you will learn it from my husband immediately after our city is rid of the hated presence of your troops, which I fear will not be until our liberties are fully secured to us by the complete establishment of the Southern Confederacy, but which God grant may be soon.

My husband desires me to add that he would call on you now and deliver this warning, along with a proper chastisement for your unwarranted insult to the ladies of New Orleans, could he receive the word of a man of honor that you would resent it personally.

I shall teach my children to link your name with everything cowardly and base.

With great abhorrence, I subscribe myself,
A MISSISSIPPIAN.

The Neglect of our Wounded.

Short work (says the Washington correspondent of *The Tribune*) was made with Surgeon D. L. Hays, of the 110th Pennsylvania, who left upward of 300 wounded soldiers from Gen. Shields's division, who were in his charge, in the cars over Saturday night, while he himself went to bed at Willard's. He admitted these facts when called before the Secretary of War this morning, but pleaded that he had vainly sought to find any official in Washington to tell him what disposition to make of the wounded. The Secretary having heard him through, said, in a tone calculated to impress his hearer: "That a man who could be guilty of such inhumanity was a disgrace to the army and the country, and should be forthwith dismissed from the service, and advised him to leave the room and the department instantly." Had he not done so his movements would have been accelerated by the throng in attendance at the department, whose verdict was that the Secretary had served him right. The friends of Dr. Hays claim that he was no more to blame than officials here, who, although advised that the train was to arrive, were not present to direct him what to do with the soldiers. But the truth is that the telegram to this effect, if sent, failed to arrive, in consequence of the storm, and neither the Surgeon-General nor any of his subordinates here was apprised of the arrival of the soldiers, nor can any defence relieve Dr. Hays from the charge that he provided himself with a comfortable bed, while leaving the soldiers boxed up in the cars without food or attendance. The Surgeon-General, in a note to the Secretary of War, desired him to make an example of this man as a warning to others. The whole of the facts of this disgraceful transaction will be brought out in the report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, in response to the resolution submitted to them by the House, on motion of Mr. Shellabarger, to-day. The following is the order dismissing Dr. Hays:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, June 16, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 66.—Surgeon David S. Hays, 110th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, having been ordered to conduct to this city a large detachment of sick and wounded men, and having shamefully neglected them after their arrival, the President directs that for this gross dereliction of duty he be dismissed from the service, and he is hereby accordingly dismissed.

By order of the Secretary of War.
L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.
Official: E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

The Protection of the Rebel Lee's Property.

The President has ordered the White House on the Pamunkey, with its grounds, belonging to Col. Lee, of the Rebel Army, which have been hitherto scrupulously guarded from intrusion, to be used for hospital purposes. Lieut. Horace Green, President of the New York Medical Society, with J. Burns, and Lemuel Wetmore of the New England Soldiers' Relief Association, who left the Peninsula yesterday, to-day called upon the President and Secretary of War and represented to them the gross injustice which was being done. They said that the only pure water in the vicinity was a spring upon Col. Lee's premises, which, with the rest of the property, was tabooed to our sick and wounded soldiers. The report is that it came out in the course of conversation that one of the reasons given for the course pursued was, that it was in compliance with a promise, made years ago, to Col. Lee by Gen. McClellan, that if they should ever be opposed in war the property of each should be respected by the other. The President was convinced by the statements of Dr Green, and declared that Gen. McClellan's promise did not bind him (the President) and he would break it. He therefore sanctioned an order signed by Secretary Stanton, directing the guards to be removed from the White House, and the premises to be put at the disposal of the surgeons. Mr. Burns was deputed to take the order to the Peninsula. All the correspondence between the War Department and Gen. McClellan with relation to this subject will soon be made public, thanks to Mr. Potter of Wisconsin, whose resolution of inquiry was adopted by the House, and to Messrs. Dawes and Sedgwick, who supported him, by relating what they had seen on the Peninsula.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

Summary.

GOV. STANLY AND THE ARMY.—The correspondent of *The Independent* at Newbern, N. C., says: "There is not an officer or man in the army who does not denounce Gov. Stanly's course as most impolitic and outrageous."

REBEL MOTTOES.—One of the rebel flags captured by Gen. Curtis's troops near Grand Glaize in Arkansas, bore the following pleasant mottoes:

"Run, nigger, run! or Lincoln will catch you."
"War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt."
"Death to home traitors."

TILMAN, the negro who rescued the schooner Emma S. Waring from the rebels by killing a portion of the prize crew, received $6,000 as his share of the salvage, and mysteriously left the city. He was subsisted by U. S. Marshal Murray for a long time, while his case was pending in the U. S. Court, at a cost of $140, for the payment of which, William Curtis Noyes, Esq., counsel for Tilman, sent the Marshal a check of $15.

Somebody asked Gen. Cass the other day in Detroit: "General, what may we do to save the Union?" "Anything." "May we abolish slavery?" "Abolish anything on the surface of the earth to save the nation." The General, by the way, was taken suddenly ill in Detroit on Tuesday last, while attending a funeral. Fears were at first entertained for his recovery, but he was much better at last accounts.

EFFECT OF GEN. HUNTER'S PROCLAMATION.—A keen observer, who lately returned from Port Royal, says, that Gen. Hunter's proclamation of liberty to all, created the greatest excitement among the rebels of South Carolina and Georgia, who knew well what its consequences would be. But when the President's proclamation, declaring it null and void, found its way to the cradle of rebellion, the slaveholders elevated their crests and rejoiced, and the people of Charleston again sleep in security.

THE CURRENT OF PUBLIC OPINION.—The Major of one of the regiments recently arrived here from New York, a well-known Democratic Alderman (Maj. Bagley, N. Y. 69th) assured a friend this evening that although he had up to the time of his leaving, opposed any interference with the slaves either of rebels or Union men, his observations in Virginia during the present week had satisfied him that they were the main support of the rebels, and should in every instance be confiscated.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

SHOOTING SLAVES.—Three runaway slaves of a party of seven were shot at Bladensburg on Monday; one of them, it is supposed, mortally. They resisted being captured, but as they were without arms were overpowered. It is said that the Maryland slaveholders do not pay as liberally for the capture of their fugacious property as they did in more palmy periods, but they still pay enough to induce the vigilant watching of all the roads by which escapes might be made.—*Washington Republican.*

EMANCIPATION IN MARYLAND.—A few days since the Executive Committee of the "Union Party," of Baltimore, waited upon the President and Secretaries Chase and Blair. The Convention which these gentlemen represent recently passed resolutions unanimously endorsing the President's policy of emancipation, and they were consequently warmly received by him. The President and Secretaries approved highly of the bold stand taken by the Convention, which must eventuate in making Maryland a free State.

Hon. Edward Stanly, the new Military Governor of North Carolina, whose course toward the contrabands is exciting so much interest, was the prime mover of the attack on Rev. Thomas Starr King, in California, two years ago, when he accepted an invitation to deliver a Fourth of July oration before an Union Sunday-school celebration of the nation's birthday in San Francisco. Mr. King's triumph on that occasion was so marked, that Mr. Stanly and his Southern associates have never since publicly ventured to renew the onslaught.—*Boston Transcript.*

RIP VAN WINKLE OUTDONE.—Amos Kendall, a politician of the last age, is writing articles in *The National Intelligencer*, addressed to the President, to show that the holding of men in perpetual bondage is not sinful. His arguments are the same as the defenders of the infamous wrong were accustomed to use about fifty years ago, and must have been written, we think, early in the present century. Where has the pious Amos been in the interval? Asleep, like Rip Van Winkle, or has he passed over into his second childhood? But his example only confirms the truth of the couplet, that

"Old politicians chew on wisdom past,
And totter on in blunders to the last."
—*Evening Post.*

CAPT. JOHN BROWN, JR.—We learn by the Leavenworth *Conservative*, that Capt. Brown, being disabled the entire winter, with intense suffering from rheumatism, has been compelled to resign his command, and will return home as soon as he is able to travel. *The Conservative* says: "He took leave of his company a day or two since, on which occasion they presented him, as a testimonial of their esteem, with a beautiful sword and revolver, through Lieutenant, now Capt. Hoyt, who made appropriate remarks, to which Capt. Brown, who was unable to stand, could only reply with tears, which met a like emotional response with the men of his company."—*Ashtabula (O.) Sentinel.*

SWARMS OF CONTRABANDS.—The Chambersburg (Pa.) *Times* says: "During the last few days the roads leading from the Virginia line to this place have been black with 'contrabands' making their way North. Numbers of them, too, have passed through on the railroad. They are of all ages, colors, and sizes—from the grey-haired slave, who has passed his days of usefulness to his master, to the infant in arms; from the ebony-hued to the light olive brown—and are of various degrees of intelligence, many of them quick and knowing, others dull, lazy, and stupid. Some of them have passed through, but many are still quartered among the negroes of the town—some of the houses being crowded almost to suffocation."

THE EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT.—The resolutions adopted by the Union City Convention of Baltimore in favor of the President's plan of emancipation are taking a deep hold of the popular heart. There are a few leading Unionists, whose sympathies have not been detached from slavery, who have not yet accepted the alternative tendered by the President. They are afraid to do right, but the tide will sweep them on in spite of themselves. What the emancipation cause is suffering from already is the want of a fearless, outspoken press, but it will not be long before one will be established, and then good bye to the "old fogies" who would not muster the courage to print the Convention's resolutions except as an advertisement!—*Balt. Cor. Evening Post.*

The Cincinnati *Times* had a correspondent who witnessed the gunboat and ram fight opposite Memphis and the capture of that city, who thus reports:

"The negroes have been largely represented on the levee and bluff to-day. They seem to enjoy the change things have undergone, and wear a self-satisfied and half-comical air, that convinces one they know the nature and source of the present war. The darkies were vastly amused over the gunboat fight, and enjoyed it as much as they would have done a cornhusking. 'Look heah, massa,' said a great, jolly, ebony-faced fellow to me, this morning, in front of the Gayoso, 'Did you see ole Uncle Abram's boats go froo dem ere shell-boats of ours? I gosh, dey drapped 'em like egg-shells. Dey cleaned 'em all out fore breakfast. Fore God, it's a good ting for Massa Montgomery dey didn't take all de day to it.'"

EMANCIPATION IN THE DISTRICT.—Over two thousand petitions have been filed before the Emancipation Commissioners in this city, and it is said that some of the claimants for compensation are of very doubtful loyalty—but they take the oath of allegiance for the sake of the pay. One of these gentlemen, well known for his treasonable affinities, was asked by a good-natured loyal friend how he managed to take the oath. His reply was: "I consider myself in the hands of the Yankees a prisoner, and whatever I do to save life or property is really *forced* out of me; I am not responsible for it. And when my Southern friends take possession here, if they ever do, I shall consider myself absolved from any oaths I may have taken to keep myself out of jail!" This was cool and bold, and particularly Southern in its style of morality. At least one-fourth of the money appropriated under the Emancipation bill will go into the hands of rebels; but as they readily take the oath there is no help for it.—*Washington Cor. N. Y. Post.*

WEST VIRGINIA.—The Territorial Committee of the House of Representatives are to report a bill to admit the proposed new State of West Virginia on condition that its boundaries be changed to the Blue Ridge, instead of the Alleghanies, and that slavery be abolished within these limits at once. So far as the last condition is concerned, the people of that region are quite ready to adopt it; and they grow more anxious, the longer the war continues, to be released from that corrupt and dead half of their body politic—Eastern Virginia. The State debt of Virginia was heavy before secession, but it has been increased greatly in the last year. It is certainly a hardship to expect the loyal people of Western Virginia to pay a share of this added debt, which has been created not only without their advice or consent, but for the purpose of subverting the real government of the State, by rebels who had seized the reins of government.—*Evening Post.*

THE STORY OF ONE REGIMENT.—When the Maine 11th passed through Broadway last November, the "Hallelujah Chorus" chanted by eight hundred and fifty sturdy fellows, few persons who saw them could have anticipated that those tall lumbermen would, within a twelvemonth, be almost decimated. Arriving in Washington, they built those famous barracks which were visited by so many strangers; but in spite of the fine shelter the typhoid was soon busy in their ranks, and when they went down with Casey's Division they were only seven hundred and fifty strong; one-eighth died of disease. While on the Peninsula they lived on hard biscuit and water for five weeks, owing to the inefficiency or rascality of some one, so that when they took up the double quick for Williamsburg the men fell on the road and died from sheer exhaustion. At the battle of Fair Oaks they numbered, fit for duty, only one hundred and eighty men. One half of this number were in action and were nearly all killed and wounded.—*N. Y. Post.*

GOV. STANLY.—The course of that infamous wretch, Gov. Stanly, in North Carolina, shows how impossible it is to make a decent man out of even a moderate slaveholder. Stanly, in old Whig times, was reckoned a sensible and reasonable man. He left his State several years ago, and has lived in California, a free State, ever since. But the old pro-slavery vices remains in him. Wedded as the Administration apparently is to the theory that it can restore the Union with slavery, it is impossible for it to sanction the brutal outrages of this scoundrel. He ought to be recalled at once, and sent packing home to California. It is apparent that even Senator Sumner's scheme of reducing the incorrigible States to territories, which is clearly the only scheme of government and restoration which will answer any useful purpose, will do little good if such creatures as Stanly are made Governors. It is inexpressibly funny to see the Brummagem Governor who, if the laws of North Carolina were in effect, would be summarily hanged, as a successor of John Brown, undertaking to enforce the police laws and city ordinances of a subverted State. But there is apparently no end to the anomalies, absurdities and contradictions in which this war involves the government.—*Bost. Cor. Springfield Republican.*

A NEW METHOD OF LAW-BREAKING.—We find the following dispatch in the newspapers:

CHICAGO, Tuesday, June 10, 1862.

A special dispatch from Memphis, dated the 8th, says:

"It has been decided by the Union authorities not to allow runaway negroes to come into our lines under any circumstances, and that they have no control over them outside the lines."

Does the reader detect the hidden meaning of this brief item of intelligence? It is nothing less than an ingenious plan to evade a solemn law of Congress. The officers of the army have been forbidden by Congress to assist in any way in the return of fugitive slaves. The penalty for open disobedience is severe; but the penalty for cunning evasion seems to be nothing. A Tennessee slaveholder chases his fugitive slave into the Federal camp at Memphis. No officer within those lines, except in violation of a law of the land, dares to seize the panting runaway and hand him over to his haughty lord. So, standing in his tent door, he simply orders the victim out of his camp, and watches while the master seizes the slave and puts on the handcuffs. Such is the adroit plan which the "Union authorities" of Memphis have devised for nullifying an act of Congress and outraging humanity. Will the Commander-in-Chief at Washington give the matter a few minutes' attention?—*Independent.*

F. F. V.—The First Families from Virginia who have emigrated to Hayti, sailed in the brig E. Wright, Jr., from Alexandria, on Saturday night last. The colony consisted of one hundred and twelve persons. They were chiefly of the class called contraband. They carried with them one hundred and fifty bushels of cotton seed; tobacco seed enough to plant two thousand acres; and a large variety of vegetable seeds. Every emigrant was presented by Mr. Redpath with a suit of clothing (contributed by the Freedmen's Relief Society and benevolent ladies of Boston), a New Testament (contributed by the American Bible Society). Before sailing, the emigrants were addressed by Mr. Wm. J. Watkins, Dr. J. B. Smith, Mr. Van Vleet, editor of *The National Republican*, and Jas. Redpath, all of whom spoke to them of the new duties devolving on them as freemen. The whole party then joined in prayer, which was followed by the singing of one of the plaintive religious hymns for which the "contrabands" are noted. This colony, we feel assured, will make its mark in Hayti; for every member of it is anxious to go to work, and knows he has been morally and spiritually dwarfed by the position he has occupied.—*Pine and Palm*, 12*th.*

Hon. Henry L. Dawes of the Berkshire district has addressed a letter to his constituents explaining his vote against the Emancipation and Confiscation bills. He states that the bill for which he *did* vote was nearly, if not entirely, identical with the one reported by the Select Committee of the Senate, and adds: "It may not be so '*vigorous*' as Mr. Eliot's bill, but with the known opinions of the President and present Supreme Court, I felt that there was more certainty in obtaining this much than there would be in going farther and encountering the obstacles which it is known here lie in the way of that bill. He further assures his constituents that since the first gun of Sumter he has had no pulsation or desire except to see this war ended and its authors hanging; and he had had no expectation that either would be possible, leaving one stone upon another of the institution of slavery."

The Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says:

"Judge Thomas and Mr. Dawes are beginning to *hedge*. The Judge tells how many emancipation votes he has given, and Mr. Dawes gives a copy of an emancipation bill which on some occasion he *did* vote for, though he did *not* vote for the one which needed votes. Old stagers in legislative proceedings are familiar with this kind of support. To vote for one of Paul's Epistles would be very creditable in itself; but to excuse one's self for not voting for the sermon on the mount, on the ground of a previous vote for one of Paul's Epistles, would hardly do. As the New Bedford *Mercury* says, the best votes are those which explain themselves. Dawes, however, will come out well enough. It is only the *mouldy* hunkers, like the 10th district man, who are past praying for."

CONTRABANDS IN NORTH CAROLINA.—A letter in *The Tribune*, dated Beaufort, N. C., May 28, says: "Gen. Parke would not aid a master to capture a fugitive, nor permit him to use force to secure one, but any loyal master is at perfect liberty to come into camp and take his negro, if he chooses slavery to freedom. The same rule holds at Newbern, Washington (N. C.), and other places occupied by Burnside's forces. You see, therefore, that the Union lines are not wholly a safe asylum for negro fugitives. If it were given out that every slave coming to our camp should have liberty, food, and employment, the army would have its numbers doubled in a short time, and the drain upon the North for food would soon be unsupportable. Things are in a pitiable plight as they now stand. No policy has been proclaimed, and the slaves, while not sure of freedom if they fly, are full of stubbornness and discontent, either flatly refusing to work, or skulking into the thickets, and the plantations are fast becoming a prey to nut-grass, purslane, twitch, and the whole family of noxious weeds. On some places, where the land was cleared for crop by thirty hands, there remain only two or three, who, from indolence and decrepitude, have been unable to play the grand stake for liberty. Some planters, in sheer despair, have left their farms to go to weeds, and moved into town. Families and hotels cannot depend on their servants remaining to cook the morrow's dinner, and helpless misses and masters, who have needed Blackie to pull on their stockings and brush their hair are brought to contemplate the awful time when they must take care of their own hose and hair. Something must be done about slavery, and that something definite, precise, and conclusive, or the Southern blacks and whites will fall to fighting like so many dogs for the bones that the war may leave them."

LABOR FOR AFRICANS RESCUED FROM SLAVERS.—Col. Rasloff, Chargé d'Affaires of Denmark, has addressed a letter to the Secretary of State upon the subject of the advantages offered by the Island of St. Croix for the employment of persons of this country of African extraction, and negroes found on board vessels captured by our cruisers. The island, he says, has been checked in progress for want of manual labor, and he invites the United States to enter into a convention whereby the contemplated migration may be placed under the protection and guaranty of the two governments.

The Governor of the Danish West Indies has also appointed a special agent, who has arrived in this country, to make the necessary arrangements. Free passage is offered to all who will engage to labor on the sugar plantations for three years, at the same compensation as given to the native population. Recaptured Africans, however, being semi-savages, must undergo apprenticeship.

Secretary Seward, replying, says that he is not authorized to accept the proposition at this time for a convention, as the disposition of recaptured Africans is now proscribed by law. It is probable, however, that Congress may be disposed so to modify the existing legislation upon the subject as to meet the wishes of the Danish Government. He has submitted copies of the correspondence to the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee in each House of Congress.

Col. Rasloff, in response, says the plan he had furnished would be entirely satisfactory, from a Christian and humane point of view, and would moreover relieve the United States from a great moral responsibility, and from the very large expense which, if he was correctly informed, is connected with the present arrangements for the transfer of recaptured Africans to the Republic of Liberia.

THE COLORED PEOPLE AND THE PASSENGER CARS.—A petition, with the signatures of about three hundred and fifty of the most respectable and prominent citizens of Philadelphia, including the venerable Horace Binney and Bishop Potter, was recently presented to the Managers of the several city railroads, asking that the colored people should be permitted to ride in the passenger cars. It is understood that after some discussion of the subject in the Board of Presidents, it was referred for further consideration to their next meeting. The restriction which excludes our colored citizens from the cars, is not only unjust to them, but reflects injuriously upon the sentiments and feelings of a large portion of the people, and is a disgrace to the community. We (*Friends Review*) earnestly hope it will be removed. The petition was in the following words:

"The colored citizens of Philadelphia suffer very serious inconvenience and hardship, daily, by being excluded from riding in the city passenger cars. In New York City, and in all the principal Northern cities, except Philadelphia, they ride; even in New Orleans (although subject to some proscription) they ride in the cars; why, then, should they be excluded in Philadelphia, in a city standing so preëminently high for its benevolence, liberality, love of freedom, and Christianity, as the City of Brotherly Love?

Colored people pay more taxes here than is paid by the same class in any other Northern city. The members of the "*Social and Statistical Association*," although numbering less than fifty members, pay annually about *Five Thousand Dollars* into the Tax Collector's Office.

Therefore, the undersigned respectfully petition that the various Boards of the City Passenger Cars rescind the rules indiscriminately excluding colored persons from the inside of the cars."

THE CONTRABANDS.—Extract of a letter to *The Evening Post*, dated "Floating Hospital, off White House, Va., May 31."—Of articles contraband of war there are several specimens on board. They are always jolly and grinning, and ready for the hardest kind of labor, and breathing a mudsill atmosphere has not made "sour niggers" of them. Strange as it may seem, too, at uncertain intervals, they even make use of an ejaculation peculiar to that genus of article in a sportive and jocular yelp: "Yah! yah!" says Aaron to Jim (not Moses), "dis yer's a heap better than Massa Coleman's"; whereupon James performs an affirmative comedy of "yah, yahs," and looks all teeth. Moreover, these men seem to take kindly to the wages (!) that are paid them from time to time, and especially on these festive occasions are they exceeding lavish in their display of ivory, and blithesome to a degree passing strange.

A little while ago I witnessed the novel spectacle of an "article" earning his living. Six weeks ago he was an "indefinite" article—a chattel—a nonentity; now sole proprietor of his own muscle and able to convert the sweat of his brow into legitimately-gotten shining metal. He was rolling a barrel of Northern pork aft, and I saw him halt three several times on his march to the kitchen, in order to execute a *pas de eul* from his favorite plantation jig. It was a march of triumph to him, for he knew that every revolution of his barrel rolled out for him at least the fraction of an expected dollar, the just recompense of his free labor, and his ungainly "juba" was only the natural overflow of his exuberant glee upon attaining at length his long denied manhood. There is a "down East" smack and flavor in this their first taste of freedom that seems to be peculiarly grateful to the contrabands, and which I doubt if prolonged years of tasting will expunge.

Special Notices.

AARON M. POWELL will speak at Washington, N. Y., Sunday, June 22. Subject: "The War and Slavery."

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

MAY, 1862.

THE Spring has come, the April goes, and nearer draws the May.
The village children violets bring from valleys far away.
I sit alone, and think of one whom I no more may see;
Last May, those hands, so icy now, were filled with flowers for me.

Take back thy violets, Spring! and all the flowers that blow!
Upon our country's bloody fields let Blood-roots only grow;
Or "Painted Cups," with crimson stains; let the Maple tree
Shed ruddy drops upon the graves where sleep the brave and free.

Where sleep the brave and free? No stone is at the head,
I know not where he lies, my young, my noble dead!
I must not weep, I must not grieve; bravely he fought and fell.
And other mothers' sons were there—he sleeps with them as well.

They say, "So gloriously he died, his name will written be
With the martyrs, with the heroes, who have died for liberty."
Woe unto me! I am not strong, he was my only one;
What is glory to the mother, when it kills her only son?

O blow, sweet wind of May! blow soft above that unknown grave;
And gently fall, ye cooling rains! where the prairie grass may wave;
Where the prairie flowers may bloom, and the birds flit to and fro;
The winds may come, the stars may pass, but I may never go.

T. E. D.

REMARKABLE PROPHECY.

CONCERNING THE PENDING REBELLION AND CIVIL WAR.

BY THE SPIRIT OF GEN. JACKSON.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: The following communication, purporting to come from the spirit of Andrew Jackson, was so startling, the events therein predicted were so unexpected at the time it was given, and the same having met with so striking a fulfillment, so far as developments have already progressed, I solicit its publication in your widely-circulated journal. That it may the better be appreciated as a veritable spiritual announcement, I will preface it with a relation of the circumstances, and some of the singular test facts that accompanied it.

On the evening of January 24, 1861—sixteen months ago—Mr. George Sanderson, a highly influential, wealthy and intelligent citizen of Scranton, Pa., called at my house (No. 26 West Fifteenth street, New York), and said he would like to witness some spiritual manifestations, such as I had described to him as witnessed by me. I accordingly invited him to go with me to a medium, to which he consented, and we proceeded to the rooms of the late Dr. G. A. Redman, No. 5 Varick place.

On our way thither, I proposed to Mr. S. that I would introduce him merely as "a friend," and leave it to his spirit-friends to disclose his name, if they chose to do so. Accordingly, his name was not mentioned by me, and was not known to the medium, Dr. Redman having, till then, never seen Mr. S.

We were invited to take seats at a table about three and a half feet square, and we occupied three sides of it—no other person than Dr. Redman, Mr. Sanderson and myself being in the room.

Mr. S., being sceptical as to the possibility of spirits communicating with men, wished for tests; and with this end in view he wrote the earthly names, ages, occupations, diseases, and places of residence of perhaps a score of his relatives and friends who had passed into the spirit world, on small slips of paper, at the same time holding a book between his hand and the medium, so that he could not see what was written. Each of the slips thus written on by him was rolled up in the form of a bullet. While Mr. S. was writing, Dr. R. said to me, "Why don't you write something?" I answered that during that sitting I wished my friend to have the full attention of the spirits. He replied that it would make no difference as to that, but that the more papers there were written, the more satisfactory the tests would be. Accordingly I wrote on nine slips of paper, and rolled them up in bullet form, and put them with those written and rolled up by Mr. S., who took them all in his hands, and mixed them together so that no one could know which paper either of us had written upon, nor what was written upon it, and they were all together placed on the table before us, numbering about thirty.

Taking each of the paper bullets separately in his hand, Dr. Redman requested that if the spirit bearing the name written on that paper was present, he should signify the same by raps. Affirmative responses to several of these questions being received, Dr. R. put the several papers thus designated, by themselves upon the table. Mr. Sanderson being about to open one of the papers thus designated, Dr. R. requested him to wait a moment, when instantly his hand spasmodically seized a pencil, wrote on a sheet of paper lying before Mr. S., very rapidly upside down, so that Mr. S. could read it without turning the paper, a communication which seemed to be the greeting of an affectionate relative and signed it "Emily E. Sanderson." Mr. S. then unrolled the paper bullet which he had been stopped from unrolling before, and found it to be one on which he had written the name of "Emily E. Sanderson." Other spirits whose names were written on the paper bullets gave similar tests to Mr. S., and in the communications which ensued upon the announcement of their names, they gave many incidental and unsought proofs of their identity.

During the time this conference between Mr. S. [illegible] communicating with me in like manner. Prominent among these was one who purported to be my sister Charlotte. As I was writing questions and receiving her answers, relating to her spiritual state and progress, my hand was often thrust aside by the medium before the question that was upon the mind was half written, and pertinent and full replies were written under the partially written questions. The same thing occurred to Mr. Sanderson.

While these questions and answers were going on, one of the spirit answers was suddenly interrupted, when but half written, and the words were abruptly written, "*Old Hickory (so called) sits on the sofa.*" Immediately the character and tone of the manifestations changed, and in a bold and vigorous hand was written the following:

GEN. JACKSON ON THE WAR.

Like a sickened snail has our Executive sat upon his bench, till the waters of revolution and madness have nearly drowned our glorious country; and now what is to be done? Nothing, nothing, by the high heavens, but the iron mouth and the needle points to drive it back.

As God lives, the very cotton will be dyed in blood ere its next harvest.

Question.—When will blood begin to flow?

Answer.—I fear before the advent of the next Administration. They are mad; they can't wait; O for fifty thousand halters!

Question.—Will the South attempt to take the Capital?

Answer.—Not by an organized force. Lincoln will be peaceably inaugurated at Washington. Yes, amid general confusion.

Question.—Please say how and when the war will begin?

Answer.—Do you mean where? Yes.

The *regular* contest will begin by a righteous effort on the part of the Administration to protect its property at Charleston; next on the waters of the great Mississippi.

Question.—How long will the war continue, and what will be the result?

Answer.—Fourteen months; a wiping out of the slave system.

Question.—Do you see anything for me to do or say in this crisis?

Answer.—Only all you can to prop up and strengthen these sentiments:
1st. God and our duty.
2d. Our Union and its Constitution.
3d. Death to traitors.

'Tis all sad, sad, sad, but we must not weep, but be up and doing.

Question.—Do you think Lincoln will be sufficient for the crisis?

Answer.—I know no man more capable; would to God he were there now. Firm, yet just; patriotic, yet moderate; fearless, yet upright. My motto at this time is, Art gives us means and God the strength to apply the match.

Yours, for the noble whole, ANDREW JACKSON.

The remarkable correspondence of these prophecies with the events of the rebellion as thus far developed, may excite the suspicion among those who are not personally acquainted with me that this statement may have been recently got up to meet the facts that have already transpired. To meet any such possible suspicion, I have cited the circumstantial occurrences of the evening, and referred to a third party, Mr. Sanderson, who was present on the occasion, and who, if appealed to, will doubtless be willing to give his corroborative testimony as to the occurrences here related, and the date (Jan. 24, 1861) on which they took place. I have further to add, that soon after this conference with the spirits, I submitted a copy of the communication from Gen. Jackson, with the questions and answers included in the interview, to one of the editors of the New York *Herald*, requesting a publication of the same in that journal, after bringing the nature of the subject fully to his attention, so that he must yet remember it; but though I was somewhat encouraged by him to expect a publication of the article, it never, to my knowledge, appeared in that paper. Moreover, shortly after the interview referred to, I showed the original manuscript of the communication from Gen. Jackson, and related the facts it contains, to many friends in private, and also read the same to a conference of Spiritualists held in Clinton Hall, Astor Place, this city, when it was reported in the proceedings of the meeting, and published in *The Banner of Light* (Boston) under date of Aug. 31, 1861.

The announcements made by the spirit of Gen. Jackson in a great degree influenced me to confer with many people as to what action should be taken in case of overt acts of rebellion, and to issue circulars, and to hold meetings at my house, as early as the 21st of March, 1861, and which were continued afterward, and resulted in the great Union meeting held in Union square on the 20th of April, 1861.

I am aware that spirits have made many prophecies, and communicated many important facts relating to the war, and have otherwise exerted an important influence upon the pending struggle. Of these spirit disclosures and interpositions, I am desirous to make a collection, and those who know of any well-authenticated facts of this class, will confer a special favor by transmitting them, by mail, to my address. CHAS. PARTRIDGE, N. Y.

THE FREEDMEN OF NORTH CAROLINA.

STATEMENTS OF MR. VINCENT COLYER.

[Mr. Vincent Colyer, agent of the New York Young Men's Christian Association among the contrabands of North Carolina, lately returned to this city, to give an account of his labors and of the act of Gov. Stanly in closing his schools. He has addressed two public meetings, one in St. George's Chapel (Dr. Tyng's), the other in the Cooper Institute. We copy from the daily journals a sketch of his remarks.]

MR. COLYER said he assumed, with the consent of Gen. Burnside, the education of the negroes, who received with gladness the announcement of his plan. Six hundred were present on the evening when he began his work, and they were of all ages, from old men and women to little children. For three weeks he taught this school in one building, old and young together, and the number of pupils increased daily. He was compelled to divide his pupils into classes, with reference to their qualifications. Thirty teachers from the regiments, principally from the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts, acted as assistants. More than one hundred of the negroes were acquainted with some of the rudiments of learning, showing that, in spite of the law and the assumed opposition of the people, they had been taught by masters or others. Mr. Colyer explained his method of teaching, and testified to the remarkable aptness the blacks exhibited, and their commendable progress.

The closing of the schools in obedience to an intimation received by Mr. Colyer from Gov. Stanly, and the manner in which it was accomplished, have already been made public.

The facts respecting the rendition of fugitive slaves, under the order of Stanly, and the terrible excitement among the five thousand contrabands under his charge as Superintendent of the Poor, were vividly narrated by the speaker. He hoped he should never pass through such an experience again. The contrabands had come into the Federal lines with the understanding that they should not be returned to their masters; they had brought information upon which the safety of Gen. Burnside's entire division depended; the men had worked on fortifications for the defence of our positions, and the women had made cartridges for our batteries, and the announcement that the government to which they had in many ways proved their loyalty would no longer protect them, produced a consternation Mr. Colyer would not attempt to describe. They ceased their labors; many of them gathered the inevitable bundles the blacks always seem to have at hand, and which contained all their property, and prepared to take their departure. At the next roll-call twenty were missing, and from that time their numbers grew constantly less.

Mr. Colyer referred to several interviews he had with Gen. Burnside, and expressed the deep regret with which that gallant officer regarded the aspect of affairs. The statement of the General's final position on the question of rendition, namely, that the act of Congress that no officer of the army should assist in returning a slave to his master, must be his law, was received by the audience with enthusiastic cheers. Gen. Burnside admitted, however, that Gov. Stanly had sufficient power to order his whole division wheresoever he pleased.

The speaker gave an interesting account of the services which have been rendered to the Union cause in North Carolina by the negroes; of the journeys, from three to five hundred miles, they had made with information of the enemy's movements; and of expeditions against the rebels which were made out under their active guidance. He also made a full report of what he had done in North Carolina; and the account contained many interesting statements we have not space to refer to. In addition to the five thousand contrabands who have been provided for by the government, he had relieved more than four hundred white families, loyal and disloyal, some of whom, but for the rebellion, would have had large amounts of available property. They could not, however, obtain sufficient food for their daily wants. Before the arrival of the new Military Governor, there was a general exhilaration of spirits among the contrabands, and a hearty willingness to perform any service that might be required, this feeling sometimes finding expression in loud shoutings of "the year of jubilee is come." Imagine a group of these joyful, trusting people, suddenly told that one of them has been taken back to the doom of slavery! But this proceeding of returning loyal persons had not only its effect on their 5,000 comrades, but it was felt as an outrage by the whole army. There were curses deep and loud through the Massachusetts, the New York, the Pennsylvania, and all the other regiments. But it was certain that this new line of policy in the way of compromise and conciliation with the cause of rebellion—slavery—would come utterly to naught (cheers). It had been said in a city newspaper, that Gov. Stanly did not order the closing of the schools. But when Mr. Colyer was told by his Excellency that there was one thing he must make objection to, namely: the keeping open of the colored schools; that there was a law of North Carolina making the keeping open of such schools an offense, and that if he were called upon to decide in the matter, he would have to decide against them—that surely was sufficient intimation to a law-abiding man, what his course should be.

The Governor also argued the case on its merits, *that it was better for a black man not to know how to read; and that when he came to be returned to his master it would only go all the harder with him.* To show that Gen. Burnside appreciated the services of loyal blacks, Mr. Colyer stated that at the time he left Newbern there were five of them in the woods, sent out by the General's orders, two of whom, if they accomplished the work they were given, would receive four thousand dollars each and their freedom, and two others would receive two thousand dollars each and their freedom if they succeeded. They were sending out black scouts continually, who brought in the most minute and valuable information in regard to the enemy. When Mr. Colyer conversed with Gen. Burnside on the subject of returning slaves who had fled to them for protection, the latter said he believed, as much as he believed anything in his life, that this war would forever put an end to slavery (cheers). Referring to an interview with President Lincoln, Mr. Colyer said the President assured him that *no fugitive slave who came within the lines of the United States army should ever be returned to his master* (great cheering).

The contraband Sam having been referred to by Mr. Colyer, and it being known that he was present, there were loud cries of "Sam," "Sam," "Let us see Sam," whereupon that colored gentleman, who said "he didn't like to make himself too public unless he was called upon," gave an account of his guiding troops under the sanction of Gen. Burnside.

In his closing remarks Dr. Tyng stated that Mr. Colyer would return to Newbern, and would reopen the schools, with the full approval of government.

LAWYER-CONSCIENCES.

Boston Correspondence of The Springfield Republican.

THE emancipation bill seems to have been saved in the House, for the present, but I suppose the conscientious scruples of the legal men will not be satisfied with any efficient bill. It is painful to see an old lawyer, perhaps a judge, brought up in the most demoralizing of professions, and having sounded all the depths and shoals of casuistry and quibbling and special pleading, rising up in Congress with white handkerchief in hand and tears and rhetoric ready to burst forth, and flourishing a conscience long as his longest brief, thick as his thickest file, and capacious as his biggest green bag. Theodore Parker preached a sermon on the Function of Conscience. I have forgotten about it; but I do not think he explained the remarkable phenomenon that the conscience of an eminent lawyer seldom displays itself except when discussing nice constitutional questions. Is there no opportunity for conscience to work in other directions? I should think a man would have a slight scruple against allowing the flower of New England youth to wither and die or be ruthlessly cut down on the fields of the South when as good men, though of the darker complexion, are willing to undergo the same perils and are much better fitted to endure them. A conscientious qualm against spending a million of dollars a day in an impossible attempt to restore the Union with slavery, running the imminent risk of foreign intervention by every day's neglect to use the means which God and nature have put into our hands, would be quite pertinent and useful just now, if it could find a harbor in the breasts of some of our legislators. There is not a State south of Delaware, where our soldiers have got a foothold, where they and their officers under the direction of the government, have not violated, and rightfully violated, every constitutional guaranty. And the Constitution of the United States has been mutilated and tattered by the President as everybody admits. Magna Charta has been a dead letter ever since April, 1861. But the moment Congress and the President are asked to stretch their powers—"to do a great right, do a little wrong, and curb this cruel devil of his will," they begin to shrug their shoulders, and whisper with white lips, "The Constitution! Would you have us violate the Constitution?" Even such men as Pomeroy, who, one would suppose, had lived long enough in Kansas to get rid of all constitutional scruples, even if a term in the Massachusetts Legislature under the coalition regime had not divested him of such impediments, is unable to vote for a tax on slaves because he thinks he sees some constitutional objection. Nothing is entitled to greater respect than genuine constitutional scruples, but they are scarce as diamonds. Most of those, so called, are as bogus as Attleboro jewelry.

OLD FOLKS.

AH, don't be sorrowful, darling,
And don't be sorrowful, pray:
Taking the year together, my dear,
There ins't more night than day.

'Tis rainy weather, my darling,
Time's waves, they heavily run,
But taking the year together, my dear,
There isn't more cloud than sun!

We are old folks now, my darling,
Our heads they are growing gray,
But taking the year all round, my dear,
You will always find the May.

We have had our May, my darling,
And our roses long ago,
And the time of year is coming, my dear,
For the silent night and the snow!

And God is God, my darling,
Of night as well as of day,
And we feel and know that we can go
Wherever He leads the way.

Ay, God of the night, my darling—
Of the night of death so grim;
The gate that from life leads out, good wife,
Is the gate that leads to Him.

FIRST REGIMENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA VOLUNTEERS.

Correspondence of The New York Tribune.

PORT ROYAL, June 5, 1862.

THIS new organization of Southern loyal men has awakened great interest among the soldiers and civilians. That loyal men of this class could be found, few, if any, doubted. Whether they would bear arms was not so manifest. The hour had arrived when it seemed both proper and important to try the experiment. Providence furnished the man of heart and moral courage to test the matter fairly. It was due to the nation, as well as to these people themselves, that the trial should be a fair one. Men truly loyal, experienced and trustworthy soldiers, as well as friends at heart of the colored man, were selected to officer them. The first step was taken wisely. Gen. Hunter called at Hilton Head a meeting of the laborers. The object was declared to them by Abram, an able man, a preacher, and was explained by Mr. Lee, their superintendent. Upon making the call for volunteers very few responded. The next day Abram remarked that they had a "dry meetin." Mr. Lee said he was disappointed, for he thought they wanted to fight for their liberties. One of them answered, "That is comin' to the pint, sir. Our peoples want to know, if dey fight for de Union, if de get dar liberty, or be slaves. If dey be free, dey will all fight." Another meeting was called, and when assured from Gen. Hunter that they should have free papers made out at once, such was their readiness and enthusiasm, that two hundred and forty names were quickly enrolled. Liberty for themselves seemed sweeter and dearer than everything else.

On the 6th of May, Gen. Hunter issued an order, through Gen. Stevens, requiring all the able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45 on Port Royal, Ladies' and St. Helena Islands to report themselves at Beaufort early the next day. Gen. Stevens promptly executed the order. The short time allowed made it necessary, in many cases, to notify the men in the night. It took them and their families by surprise. The cotton planting had just been finished, and the superintendents found it no small trial to part with their men. In a few instances the soldiers very cruelly excited the fears of the women, who became almost frantic, by reminding them of the old story of being sold to Cuba, or something worse. Their ignorance of the nature or full intent of the call made it peculiarly trying to the men; still they parted from their families and homes, with scarcely an exception, quite bravely and becomingly, and, under the guidance of their faithful superintendent, set out, on foot or in boats according to their localities, for Beaufort. They were taken by steamers to Hilton Head and encamped on Drayton's plantation, a beautiful and healthy location on the bank of Broad River, two miles back of Hilton Head. After a careful examination, all whose ages, bodily infirmities, or sickness, rendered them unfit for service, were kindly dismissed. Not a few, to our certain knowledge, felt, as did our cook, who was sent back on account of age and sickness. "And how do you feel, Peter," said we to him on his return, "about being sent home?" "O, feel so bad; I did want to be a soger so bad; but, tank de Lord, I lef two sons in de army." Mike, our "coachman," is one of the volunteers. He was with the rebels, fought, as well as they made him, against us at Bull Run and at Hilton Head, where, upon the surrender of the fort, he deserted. He is proud of the "Yankee ball" he now carries in his leg, which he received at Bull Run, where, though he fought for the rebels, he prayed for the "Union sogers." Mike is a corporal, and if scars and heroism entitle men to preferment, I see no reason why he should not aspire to a generalship.

The men were now plainly told why they had been called together, and were instructed as to the duties and hardships of soldiers who guard the interests of freedom, and then informed that they would remain or return to their families on the plantations, as they chose. Nearly every one promptly decided to stay. For freedom and the Union they could fight, they thought, with a good heart; but for the Union and slavery, and that of themselves and families, they saw no motive to war. In this they were as sensible as white men. Their first lessons were taken under serious drawbacks. They had only their threadbare and ragged clothes, were mostly barefoot, and without arms or music. In spite of all their embarrassments, they did well. The officers all testify to their good order, obedience (a virtue brutally taught by slavery), and proficiency in their first military lessons. It is now three weeks since they went into camp, and only one has been put in the guard-house, and one punished otherwise for a trivial offence. Yet they number nearly six hundred. To their praise, be it said, that there is no profanity among them, no vulgar songs, and no drunkenness. On addressing them, a few days since, all were asked to raise the right hand, who decidedly preferred to prove that they could make soldiers. Many raised both hands. It was then requested that all who wished they had four hands, would now raise both. Nearly all raised both, some leaping up, while one sang out, "I wish I had ten hands."

They manifest strong love for their families, and know full well how distressing to them their hasty departure was. Still, neither by the past, nor by the want of comfortable clothes, or of guns, are [illegible] all discouraged. They are permitted in small squads to visit their families, collect any moneys due for their labor, and do what they can to make their homes comfortable. In nearly every instance, they have returned at the time set.

Gen. Hunter is dealing wisely and kindly with these men. Some indignant, others alarmed, are saying, "What! make these black men equal with white ones! make us fight side by side with them!" The wisdom that has marked every step of this movement thus far may be safely trusted for the future. Hospital men will not be ordered out, scarce and much-needed as reënforcements are; nor will these raw recruits be immediately required to face the cannon's mouth. And yet if it shall become as evident to the rebels that God is against them as it is to the colored man and his friends that he has arisen for those who "had no helper," who can doubt that, at the very sight of one thousand well-armed negroes, their former slaves, old fears of retribution and sense of guilt would so terrify our common enemies that their hearts would fail them, so that "one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight"?

Some have complained of this measure because it weakens the farming force, and threatens the loss of some of the cotton expected from the present planting. Superintendents were very laudably stimulating the people to vigorous labors for large yields, and some, on this account, objected to the movement. The people, however, on many plantations begin to understand that liberty has its price as well as slavery its sacrifices, and that now they must do more work, take better care of themselves, their children, and the plantations, show their readiness to suffer loss, and their ability to govern themselves, and thereby establish their claims to freedom. They see this in a good degree, and their fears are being quieted, their industry stimulated, and their affairs improved.

The following is a list of the officers of the 1st Regiment South Carolina Volunteers:

Captains, Charles Trowbridge, John D. B. Goddard, James H. Harold, William B. Churchill, Erastus H. Case of New York, William J. Randolph, Robert W. Weller, Robert Hamilton, William James, and Joseph T. Brown of Penn. First Lieutenants, George W. Reeder, Thomas K. Durham, Alexander Heasley, George S. Vem, Thomas L. McGlathery of Penn., Robert M. Gaston, William H. Davidson, Israel F. Stickles of New York, Luther G. Riggs of Conn. Second Lieutenants, John A. Trowbridge, George K. Walker of New York, Edmund F. Oliver, James F. Johnson, Robert G. Christie, Steward Alford, James Pomeroy, Thomas C. Randolph, John O. Kerr, of Penn. Reg. Quartermaster, Harry West of New York.

Not long since we were told by a Southern dignitary that we should soon hear the roll of the slaves called in the shadow of Bunker Hill. Now slaves are freemen, and their muster-roll is called on Southern plantations, where they are learning how to protect the liberty of themselves and their countrymen.

As an index to the spirit of some of these men, we give the answer of one who was asked what he would do if our forces were to retire and their old masters be allowed to return with the chances of slavery for him. Straightening up, the fire flashing in his eyes, he said with emphasis, "I would cut my way into freedom or a grave." MANSFIELD.

THE CONTRABAND QUESTION.

LETTER FROM A CHAPLAIN IN GENERAL McCLELLAN'S ARMY.

From The Evening Post.

THE following are interesting extracts of a letter from the chaplain of one of the New Jersey regiments (Gen. Franklin's division) in our army before Richmond:

"MACON'S FARM ON THE CHICKAHOMINY RIVER, VIRGINIA, May 26, 1862.

"It is a question in my mind whether any one deserving the name of man could know what I know of slavery from personal observation, and not be heartily indignant. There is scarcely a precept in the Ten Commandments which slavery does not violate or tempt men to violate. Brought up in the hot-bed of conservatism at New Brunswick and Princeton, I can only say Amen when Wesley denounces it as 'the sum of all villanies.' I reëcho your hope that this war is God's appointed means for the removal of this disgrace and crime, no less than curse.

CHARACTER OF THE NEGROES.

"As a somewhat close observer of slaves during the last few months, I make bold to suggest that the horrors of their emancipation are in a great measure imaginary. The slaves are not altogether uneducated. Though access to the schools has been forbidden them, though the desire and attempt to learn has been promptly and *brutally* discouraged with numerous stripes and immediate sale from home and friends, yet such has been their thirst for knowledge that a considerable number have learned to read without their master's knowledge.

"Another fact is worthy of notice. The precepts and promises of the Gospel, though only heard at intervals, and probably in most cases from preachers quite illiterate, have yet sunk into their simple minds, and worked with surprising power.

"A writer in *The Evening Post* some time since observed that 'the black race was naturally humble and forgiving.' Notwithstanding all their provocations in the wantonly-cruel and long-continued barbarities, in the sudden and ignoble retreat of these same vain-glorious and boasting lords, in the angry and threatening expressions of our soldiers, exasperated by the brutal murder of their comrades who had fallen into rebel hands—in the face of all this, I have seldom or never heard a desire for revenge expressed by any negro. There is a universal desire for freedom expressed by these down-trodden victims of oppression, but it is a desire for their own deliverance, not for the destruction of their tyrants.

THE NEGROES NOT IMPROVIDENT.

"Again, let me assure you that they are not 'entirely improvident, or utterly incompetent to provide for their own wants.' While we lay near Alexandria, and since that time, on our marches through Virginia, wherever we have passed negroes who were practically free and sure of receiving fair compensation for their labor, there we have found them shrewd, industrious and provident. Where they are slaves and treated as such, they are otherwise, but only while their thraldom lasts. Idleness in a slave may be almost a virtue, designed as a protest against the unnatural, the impious degradation of God's children.

"Most of these thriftless blacks feel, doubtless, as a negro shrewdly remarked to me a few days since. He was speaking of the insufficient food, one pound of meal and one and a quarter pounds of bacon per week, doled out to him by his master.

"'At last,' said he, 'I thought the best way was to work as he fed. He gave me short feed, and I gave him short work.'

THEIR ENDURANCE OF COLD.

"Neither are they unable to stand the rigors of a Northern climate. Half clothed, living in miserable hovels insufficiently warmed, with no earthly object or hope in their existence, they have stood the cold (greater than you may suppose) of winters in this latitude. Ice has been known to form here several feet thick. One negro, to escape the brutal cruelty of his master, took to the woods, and preferred to face the rigors of the winter rather than enjoy the *comforts* of his home under the 'patriarchal institution.' The man told me this himself.

"Clothed properly, clothed as they could and would clothe themselves with their own earnings, they could live comfortably at the North. But they are not wanted there; and they do not want to remove northward. The negro is passionately attached to his home and family. One lately replied to my inquiry, 'Do you wish to be free?' 'Yes; but I cannot leave mother. She is sixty or seventy years old, and, considering her age, harder druv with work than I am.'

THEIR LOCAL ATTACHMENTS.

"This attachment to home has diminished the number of fugitives northward; and it renders the colonization scheme in a measure abortive. It makes any scheme of forced migration a cruel addition to the outrageous injustice which the black race in this country has so long already suffered at the hands of the whites. Nor can they be spared. The laborers of a community are its most valuable, most indispensable class. These broad lands must be tilled; horses must be shod; mills must be run; other mechanical trades must be carried on. Blacks have heretofore done most of this work, and must continue to do it till their place is supplied by other workingmen. They have done it poorly as lash-driven drudges; they will do it cheerfully and well as compensated freemen.

"Further to the south, the nature of the climate requires them to be the laborers. Why should the cotton culture be transferred to Africa, in order to rid our country of black men? Why should we relinquish the benefits of that culture? It may be said that four million of blacks cannot live as freemen in a community with whites. Intermarriage and amalgamation of races are intimated to be sufficient reasons for preventing millions of men from receiving their 'unalienable rights.' But the fact is patent to every observer, that amalgamation is much more frequent where the blacks are enslaved, and much more at the South than at the North.

EMANCIPATION.

"In the Providence of God this question of emancipation has been thrust upon us by the madness of the slaveholders themselves. It was generally conceded that the Constitution protected slavery where it existed. But the rebels have thrown aside the Constitution and abjured its protection. It is now evident that slavery is the cause and support of rebellion. Its extinction is now not only a duty, but a necessity, in order to the permanent pacification of our beloved country. Why should we hesitate? A heathen could say, and a heathen audience could applaud the saying, 'Let justice be done though the heavens fall.'"

THE RESTORATION OF JOHN BUNYAN'S TOMBSTONE.

ON Wednesday afternoon the ceremony of publicly uncovering the monumental tombstone which has been erected over the grave of the author of the "Pilgrim's Progress" in Bunhill-fields burial ground, City Road, was performed in the presence of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Messrs. E. Baines, M.P., Frank Crossley, M.P., J. Stansfield, M.P., Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., Revs. Mr. Maguire, Mackenzie, Dr. Tidman, Dr. Greig (President of the Presbyterian College), A. H. Haldane, Esq., and a large assemblage of spectators. The designer and sculptor, Mr. E. C. Papworth, has produced a very creditable work, considering the funds at his disposal, and the simple character of the work required. A carved effigy of John Bunyan in a recumbent posture, with a Bible in his right hand, is on the upper stone, a rich moulding surmounting the panels, on which is in bas relievo on the North side a figure representing Christian laden, leaving the City of Destruction; and on the South side a figure of Christian arriving at the Cross, and the burden falling from his shoulders. The inscriptions at either end are as follows:

"JOHN BUNYAN,
Author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,'
Obt. 31st August, 1688.
Æ. 60.

Restored by public subscription under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, May, 1862.
John Hirst, Hon. Sec."

The ceremony commenced by the Rev. Mr. Garbett offering up prayer, and the memorial was then uncovered, and as the rain was fast falling the company adjourned to the Wesleyan Chapel; Lord Shaftesbury took the chair.

Mr. Hirst, the Hon. Secretary to the memorial fund, read the Report, which stated that, although during the last twenty years two attempts had been made to raise a national monument, yet, though a portion of the funds had been appropriated, as they had seen it was not intended to supersede the original idea of a metropolitan monument in one of the leading public thoroughfares, but it was hoped that the original plan would be eventually carried out in its integrity.

The meeting was addressed by the Earl of Shaftesbury, Mr. E. Baines, M.P., Mr. Samuel Morley, the Rev. Mr. Spurgeon, the Hon. A. Kinnaird, the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie, of St. James's, Islington, and others.

A SOLDIER'S LETTER, AND A WOMAN'S ANSWER.

HOSPITAL, April —.

I WRITE with a great deal of pain, dear girl—
I've not been able before since the fight—
And my brain is still so much in a whirl,
That I can tell you but little to-night.
I'm wounded!—don't start—'tis not very bad,
Or at least it might be worse; so I said,
When I thought of you, "I'm sure she'll be glad
To know that I'm only wounded—not dead."

I've lost my left arm—there! now you know all!
A Minié ball shattered it, and I fell;
The last that I heard was our Captain's call,
Until—the rest is too painful to tell.
I've had throughout the most excellent care,
And am doing finely, the surgeon says;
So well, indeed, that the prospect is fair
For a homeward trip before many days.

But I've something else, dear Mary, to say,
And I'd say it if it cost me my life;
I've thought of it well—there's no other way—
You're released from your promise to be my wife!
You'll think me foolish at first; then you'll think
Of the loose, armless coat-sleeve at my side;
And your proud and sensitive heart will shrink
From the thought of being a cripple's bride.

'Tis a bitter struggle to give you up,
For I've loved you more than ever of late;
But down to its dregs I've drained the cup,
And I'm calm, though my heart is desolate.
I'm coming home, and of course we must meet;
My darling, this once, one boon I implore—
Let us still be friends—for that will be sweet,
Since now, alas! we can be nothing more.

SWEET HOME, April —.

My Robert, how brave and noble you are!
Too brave and too noble, I know, for me;
But you've too little faith in me by far
If you believe that I want to be free.
I'm not released from my promise—no, no!
'Twas never so sacred to me before;
If you could but know how I've longed to go
And watch by your side, you'd doubt me no more.

I read your name in the terrible list,
But the tears froze back that sprang to my eye;
And a fearful pain, that I could not resist,
Crushed my heart till I only longed to die.
The blessed tears, by-and-by, came again,
And I felt, as you in your letter said,
A feeling of gladness, 'mid all my pain,
That Robert was only wounded—not dead.

Oh, darling! to think you have suffered so,
And I all these long, weary miles away;
You've needed me very often, I know,
While I could do nothing but hope and pray.
But hardest of all is the bitter thought
That you have been suffering so much for me;
Poor Robert! your manly letter has brought
A strange mixture of joy and misery.

But you're coming home to my arms and heart;
You're right—I *am* proud and sensitive too;
But I'm only so when we are apart,
And now—I shall only be proud of you!
You're coming home to happiness and rest,
And I wait the moment of blissful calm,
When I shall be held to a Soldier's breast
By a Patriot-Hero's one strong arm!

Blackstone, Mass., April, 1862. —*Harper's Weekly.*

THE CAUSE OF EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

ST. LOUIS, June 9, 1862.

THE friends and advocates of human slavery will derive great encouragement from recent events in this State. The State Convention, with its pro-slavery ideas, and unable to see three weeks ahead, has voted in favor of allowing traitors to vote the same as loyal citizens for officers under a Constitution they have been trying for a year back to subvert. This is not all. The same Convention, by the decisive vote of 52 to 19, summarily, and in some respects indecently, laid on the table a mild emancipation scheme brought forward by Judge Breckinridge of St. Louis. The proposition was purposely drawn as mild and insinuating as possible. It simply proposed that the people should vote in 1864 upon the question of emancipation with compensation to the owners, to go into operation in the year 1890. If it had decreed immediate emancipation with the right on the part of the slaves to murder and plunder their masters, the proposition could hardly have been received more discourteously. Lieut.-Gov. W. P. Hall of St. Joseph immediately moved to lay the ordinance on the table, and refused to withdraw the motion to allow United States Senator Henderson to make a brief speech. The screws were applied, and 52 members voted virtually to perpetuate slavery in Missouri for ever. Among the nays, however, will be found the names of Senator Henderson, ex-Gov. Stewart, United States District-Attorney Broadhead, and others of less prominence.

It was fitting that the same day which bound the shackles of the slaves tighter than ever should witness the truckling of a professed Union Convention to rebel votes and secession influences. The Convention refused, by a vote of 44 to 24 to disfranchise traitors. Among the 24 will be found the names of the faithful nineteen who voted to discuss the Emancipation question. The eight delegates who voted to disfranchise rebels, but not to agitate "the nigger question," are the two Halls of Buchanan and Randolph (the one Lieutenant-Governor and the other Member of Congress), Messrs. Bogy, Irwin, Hendrick, Marvin, McCormack, and Johnson. Three delegates—Messrs. Jackson, Pomeroy, and Scott—voted to disfranchise, but against laying Judge Breckinridge's Emancipation ordinance on the table. The secret motive behind this extraordinary action may be ascribed to political ambition. Many of the delegates are new men, who never have been in political circles before, and were chosen to a Union Convention for that very reason; but having sipped some of the sweets of office they have taken very naturally to propitiating the predominant pro-slavery sentiment of their county. To show how opposition to emancipation and friendship for rebels go hand in hand, it is only necessary to refer to the debates of the Convention, wherein it was urged as a strong reason against disfranchisement of rebels—that if all the secessionists were excluded from the polls, the Emancipationists who remained true and loyal would control the election. What a proud admission for the cause! It is equivalent to saying that a majority of the true Union men in Missouri are in favor of emancipation. But, as usual, in the Border Slave States, the love of slavery proves stronger than love of the Union, and rather than risk the election of a loyal citizen favoring emancipation, the Convention declared that rebels who had served in Price's army, and fought their best against the United States government, may go to the polls and vote as usual.

However disheartening these events might be under ordinary circumstances, the hope of effecting a change of public sentiment animates the Union men of this State, who are striking at the root of the evil by declaring war against slavery, and working on manfully. The support of the Hon. John B. Henderson, United States Senator, is worth a dozen votes in the Convention, and although the beginning is small, still the point of the wedge is in, and our friends will continue to drive it till slavery is split. A hopeful sign is the publication of a letter in favor of Emancipation by the Hon. Robert Wells, United States District Judge for Western Missouri. Judge Wells is a Virginian, and has presided in the United States Court for this State for several years. He has owned and lived among slaves all his life, and is able to speak from personal experience. He says that *now* is the time to agitate this question, and wishes the slaveholding aristocracy who inaugurated this wicked rebellion humbled forever. Judge Wells cannot be stigmatized as a fanatic, or "dirty Abolitionist." His influence among Missourians is great, and his letter will accomplish substantial results.

From The Evening Post.

The Missouri State Convention, now in session at Jefferson City, has refused to act on an emancipation bill which was submitted to it. A good deal of disappointment has been felt at the East, where better things were expected of the State of Missouri. It must not be forgotten, however, that this Convention is a body chosen in the spring of 1861, before the rebellion broke out, and is not, therefore, by any means fresh from the people.

There is every reason to believe that if the present Convention had been dismissed, and a new one elected after the President's offer of government aid for State emancipation had been adopted by Congress, the result would have been very different. Many of the prominent citizens of the State, even of the slaveholders, have come out prominently in favor of emancipation, and are working vigorously in all parts for freedom. They do this because they feel that the State can never pay its debts, and will inevitably fall bankrupt, unless it can speedily become a sharer in that prosperity which liberty has brought upon Illinois, which has ten thousand square miles less of territory, half a million more population, and whose lands are valued at nearly double those of Missouri; or of free Iowa, twenty years younger, ten thousand square miles smaller, yet with a land valuation nearly equal in amount to the total land valuation of Missouri.

One thing has been gained in Missouri as well as in Maryland, and that is free speech. The question of emancipation is discussed everywhere in those States—by the enemies of the measure as zealously as by its friends; and this is all that we need ask. With free speech and a free press we need not despair of weeding out the monstrous evil.

SIGNORA JESSIE WHITE MARIO'S LECTURES ON GARIBALDI AND ITALY.—We have much pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the fact that Signora Mario is announced to deliver her lectures in St. James's Hall on the evenings of May 20 and 27. On the first of these evenings the chair will be taken by the new member for Leicester, P. A. Taylor, Esq., M.P.; and on the second by James Stansfeld, Esq., M.P. This talented lady has for the last four months and a half been engaged in lecturing in the provinces and in Scotland under the auspices of the English Garibaldi Committee, of which Messrs. Taylor and Stansfield are members. She has met with great success, especially in Scotland. She has, in a remarkable manner, called forth the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*—the best proof of which, we learn, is, that as the result of her lectures there, a sum of nearly £150 has already been added to the Garibaldi fund. We need scarcely remind our readers that Signora Mario discharged duties during the last Italian war similar to those which Florence Nightingale performed in the Crimean war. She ministered to the sufferings of the wounded soldiers with extraordinary energy and devotion, and won the lasting gratitude of the Garibaldian army. As an eye-witness of the stirring events of that memorable campaign, Signora Mario is enabled to give in her lectures life-like sketches and interesting details. Appreciating her heroic services, and admiring her peculiar gifts as a public speaker, Garibaldi addressed the following note to Signora Mario before she left Italy to undertake a lecturing tour in this country, under the auspices of the English Garibaldi Italian Unity Committee (Translation): "Caprera, Nov. 15, 1861. —My very dear sister—I fully approve of your resolution of going to England, in order to enlist the sympathies of that noble nation, to whom we owe so much in favor of Italy. Ever yours, G. Garibaldi. An affectionate remembrance to Alberto. To Signora Jessie White Mario, Genoa." As Signora Mario will leave England for Italy immediately after the delivery of her lectures in St. James's Hall, we would earnestly recommend our readers not to lose the opportunity of hearing her. We can assure them that they have a rare treat before them.—*London Dial.*

NEW SERIES OF TRACTS

PUBLISHED BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

AND TO BE OBTAINED AT THE

Anti-Slavery Offices, 48 Beekman street, New York; 106 North-Tenth street, Phila.; and 221 Washington street, Boston.

No. 1. Correspondence between Lydia Maria Child and Governor Wise and Mrs. Mason, of Virginia. 5 cents.
No. 2 Victor Hugo on American Slavery, with letters of other distinguished individuals, viz., De Tocqueville, Mazzini, Humboldt, Lafayette, &c. 5 cents.
No. 3. An Account of some of the Principal Slave Insurrections during the last two Centuries. By JOSHUA COFFIN. 5 cents.
No. 4. The New Reign of Terror in the Slaveholding States, for 1859–'60. 10 cents.
No. 5. Daniel O'Connell on American Slavery; with other Irish Testimonies. 5 cents.
No. 6. The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the West Indies and elsewhere. By L. MARIA CHILD. 10 cents.
No. 7. Testimonies of Capt. John Brown, at Harper's Ferry, with his Address to the Court. 2 cents.
No. 8. The Philosophy of the Abolition Movement. By WENDELL PHILLIPS. 5 cents.
No. 9. The Duty of Disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Act; An Appeal to the Legislature of Massachusetts. By L. MARIA CHILD. 5 cents.
No. 10. The Infidelity of Abolitionism. By WM. LLOYD GARRISON. 3 cents.
No. 11. Speech of John Hossack, convicted of a violation of the Fugitive Slave Act, at Chicago, Ill 3 cents.
No. 12. The Patriarchal Institution, as described by Members of its Own Family. Compiled by L MARIA CHILD. 5 cents.
No. 13. No Slave-Hunting in the Old Bay State: An Appeal to the People and Legislature of Massachusetts. 5 cents.
No 14. A Fresh Catalogue of Southern Outrages upon Northern Citizens. 10 cents.
No. 15. The Fugitive Slave Law and its Victims. By Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr. Revised and enlarged edition. 13 cents single, $10 a hundred.
No. 16. Tribute of William Ellery Channing to the American Abolitionists, for their Vindication of Freedom of Speech. 3 cents.
No. 17. Argument of Wendell Phillips Against the Repeal of the Personal Liberty Law, before the Committee of the Legislature, Jan. 29, 1861. 5 cents.
No. 18. A Voice from Harper's Ferry. A Narrative of Events at Harper's Ferry; with incidents prior and subsequent to its capture by Captain Brown and his men. By OSBORNE P. ANDERSON, one of the number. 15 cents.
No. 19. The Abolition of Slavery the Right of the Government under the War Power. 5 cents.
No. 20. The Loyalty and Devotion of Colored Americans in the Revolution and War of 1812. 5 cents.
No. 21. In Memoriam. Testimonials to the Life and Character of the late Francis Jackson. 5 cents.

☞ A deduction of fifty per cent. will be made where a dozen or more copies are taken. Gratuitous copies will be sent by mail, for examination, on receiving the postage charge.

Advertisements.

CHOICE QUALITY OF TEA.—FOR FAMILY USE.
Fine English Breakfast, Superior Oolong, and Young Hyson; also, Japanese Tea; in chests, half chests, and boxes of 10 lbs. and upwards, or in quantities to suit purchasers, at reasonable prices. Samples furnished by Express, address Box 2427, New York Post Office.
Also staple and fancy Japanese and Chinese goods. Raw silk, saddlers' sewings, Hatters' sarsnetts and linings, Canton matting, Rattan Pillows, Silver, Ivory and Sandalwood card-cases, etc., for sale by
ROWLAND JOHNSON,
Commission Merchant and Broker,
54 Beaver St., N. Y., and 119 Market St., Philadelphia.

Philadelphia Advertisements.

COAL!—The subscriber is prepared to furnish the best qualities of Lehigh and Schuylkill coal at the following terms:

Lehigh stove coal,	$4 25
" Egg,	4 25
" Broken and screened,	4 25
" Nut,	4 00

WM. STILL,
Stove Store, 107 N. Fifth street, Philadelphia.

UNDERTAKING
WM. HEACOCK, General Furnishing Undertaker, No. 18 North 9th street, Philadelphia.
Furniture made to order, repaired, Varnished, and Reupholstered. Mattresses made and repaired. Removals and Packing of Furniture carefully attended to.

KENDERDINE & JUSTICE, Importers and Dealers in Foreign and Domestic HARDWARE, S. W. corner Spring Garden and Seventh streets, Phila. Constantly on hand a general assortment of hardware, cutlery, &c., at the lowest cash prices, wholesale or retail. Particular attention paid to furnishing hardware for buildings.
JOSEPH R. KENDERDINE, WARNER JUSTICE.

PRIZE MEDAL awarded in London, in 1851, for his superiority over all others in the manufacture of Travelling Trunks; Carpet Bags, Valices, Gum Shoes, Coaches Hobby Horses, and sole leather, steel spring, iron frame, iron-bound Trunks of all descriptions, of the best materials and workmanship. Black Leather Enamelled Bags, at the lowest prices.
THOS. W. MATTSON, Trunk Manufacturer,
402 Market st., one door above 4th, South side, Phil.

A LARGE assortment of SALAMANDER SAFES, of various sizes, always on hand, at No. 26 South Fourth street, Philadelphia. Warranted equal to any made in the United States. EVANS & WATSON, thankful for past favors, respectfully solicit a continuance of the same. Please give us a call before purchasing elsewhere. Patent slate-lined refrigerators, water filters, &c. A large assortment always on hand.
N. B. Sole agency for Butterworth's celebrated bank, vault and doorlocks. These locks bid defiance to all lockpicks, Hobbs included.

Equality to all! Uniformity of Prices! A new feature in Business! Every one his own Salesman.
JONES & Co., of the Crescent One Price Clothing Store, No. 200 Market street, above 6th, in addition to having the largest, most varied and fashionable stock of clothing in Philadelphia, made expressly for retail sales, have constituted every one his own salesman, by having marked in figures, on each article, the very lowest price it can be sold for, so they cannot possibly vary—all must buy alike. The goods are all well sponged and prepared and great pains taken with the making, so that all can buy with the full assurance of getting a good article at the very lowest price.
Remember the Crescent, in Market, above 6th, No. 200, Phila.
JONES & CO

SIGN of the MAMMOTH PEN, No. 72 N. Fourth street (2d door below Arch), Phila., wholesale and retail stationery, blank books, &c., which we will sell lower than the usual prices. English, French and American cap, letter and note papers, envelopes, sealing wax, plain and fancy wafers of every description, very superior gold and steel pens, ink and inkstands, sand boxes, wafer cups, paper weights, plain and fancy penholders, drawing pencils and books, Bristol board, tracing paper, impression paper, tissue paper, visiting and wedding cards, pocket books, portfolios, bankers' cases, diaries, &c.; envelopes at 10 cents per 100 and 90 cents per 1,000. Mercantile firms, insurance companies, banks, &c., furnished with blank books to order, of the best materials and workmanship.
FRIENDS' MARRIAGE CERTIFICATES (a new Plate).
CLOTHIER & PEDRICK,
72 N. Fourth street, below Arch street.

CONFECTIONERY—REMOVAL.—Leatitia Bullock respectfully informs her friends and the public that she has removed to No. 152 North Sixth street, below Race, opposite the old stand, where she is prepared to furnish ice creams, water ices, jellies, cakes, candies, &c., of every description and of the best materials, all the produce of free labor, and warranted to give entire satisfaction. Parties and families furnished at shortest notice. Orders sent to any part of the city.